PEEP BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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J. C. Kumarappa in conversation with the President of the Peace Council, Dresden, East Germany.

(Frontispiece)

A PEEP BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

(Life in the Soviet Union and in Peoples' China)

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By

J. C. KUMARAPPA

Foreword
by
Sri KAKA KALELKAR

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FOREWORD

The publication of these impressions about the two great Communistic countries, by an eminent exponent of Gandhian thought, is at once significant and opportune. We must remember that these impressions, when first placed before the country, created in the minds of our people, some misgivings. And some impatient friends went to the length of accusing Shri Kumarappa of becoming more and more pro-communist. But this need not surprise us. The generality of people do not take the trouble of diving deep and understanding a man aright. Those were days when we were anxious to press our Five-Year Plan and the Community Projects, even with American Aid.

Opinion in India was clarified when we got an opportunity of understanding the true nature of the East-West conflict which means the struggle for power between America and Russia.

Today, as we read these impressions of Kumarappa, we find that he has said nothing which is not now endorsed—of course in a milder form—by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the great "Well-wisher of the West"—Shri C. Rajagopalachari.

The Russians, after the death of Stalin, have taken pains to explain their international peace policy. Now a war of words is going on between Russia and America, although the cold war has, to some extent, abated.

America tried to win India over, but had not the courage to trust our policy of non-involvement and all round brotherliness. We are witnessing today the

sad picture of America, the champion of a free world, supporting reactionaries and colonial powers. Who can say that America has increased her prestige by keeping company with Chiang Kai-shek, Franco and Salazar? People of Asia cannot forget that in the last World War it was America who used the Atom bomb, not against their European enemy, Germany, but against an Asian power, and that too at a time when Japan was known to have been on the brink of surrender.

Shri Kumarappa is a seasoned worker who knows India in detail and is steeped in Gandhian philosophy. His stay in America and Europe as a student, was long enough to give him a thorough understanding of the West. An eminent economist and practising chartered accountant, he was asked by Gandhiji to study the problem of India's so-called debts. He had also an opportunity of surveying the economic conditions of the masses in various provinces of India. Intensive relief work that followed the Bihar earthquake brought him in contact with other national leaders. Finally, Gandhiji selected him to organize the All-India work of resuscitating the village industries of India.

A devout Christian by birth and training, he has little patience with the supineness of the Church.

We must remember all this background when we start reading Kumarappa's assessment of the achievements of the Communistic Governments of Russia and China. Shri Kumarappa does not ask us to copy the methods and technique of the Communists. He has not sought to explain away the violence with which Communism was ushered into Russia. He simply says that we must study the splendid work done for the masses there and improve our own work here in India.

People throughout the world are given the impression that the communist is the only party that stands for violence and war.

Now let us consider calmly the question of violence and non-violence. India is, perhaps, the only country that has a predilection for non-violence. But even India cannot claim to be a pacifist country. During the last war, Russia fought on the side of the allies; and although every one admired the bravery of the Russians, nobody accused them of being more violent than the Allies or the Axis powers. The internal violence used by the Russians, whilst establishing the communistic regime and during the days of the counter-revolution, was nothing new, if we remember the days of the French Revolution. How can we forget that the Russian violence was a direct reaction to the sustained, thorough, and unjustifiable violence perpetrated by the Tzarist regime, for generations? How can we then say that Russia is more war-minded than other countries of the West? The same consideration holds good in the case of China. The masses suffered at the hands of reactionary and corrupt feudal war-lords; and they reacted in dire desperation, in the only way that was known to them.

Now that the age of the Atom bomb has been ushered in by America, the whole world is stricken with the prospect of an all destroying war involving the whole of Humanity.

Yet, I am not persuaded that America is in any way, war-mongering. True, the evil of the Atom bomb started with America. True, the Russians are merely the disciples of America, so far as the production of the nuclear weapons is concerned. Yet, I feel that the Americans would do anything to prevent a war

provided, of course, that they are assured of the security of their fabulous wealth and newly-acquired dominant position in world markets. I do not disbelieve the peaceful intentions of the U.S.A. And therein lies the hope of mankind, that in spite of the present long drawn conflict between Russia and America, the world may muddle through and come out safe.

The great need of the day is that the white races shed their insolent sense of superiority and start thinking and acting in terms of racial equality and racial harmony. They must realize that the under-developed countries are the victims of the exploitation, systematically carried on, not by the Communist centre, but by the highly industrialized capitalistic countries. It is these countries alone that are responsible for the inter-continental injustice under which the whole world is smarting.

It is these capitalistic countries with their ideals of Imperialism, colonialism and white man's burden, that are responsible for the economical, racial and political malady of the world. It is they who have to atone for the sins of the past, and allow the under-developed countries a breathing-time to develop themselves and come up to a general standard of social wellbeing and educational progress.

The only countries that managed to secure such breathing-space were the Communist countries of Russia and China. No doubt they established a totalitarian form of government and managed to have an iron curtain, but inside the curtain, they have struggled hard to secure social justice. They have secured a fairly high standard of nutrition, and a fairly decent standard of all round wellbeing.

Shri Kumarappa, who had the privilege of seeing conditions at first-hand, tells us clearly what we have to learn from them. The Nation and the National Government ought to profit by the experience of such a mature economist and devoted social worker. He is one of the few persons we have in India today, who have no axe to grind, no personal ambition to satisfy and no prejudice to nurse.

New Delhi. KAKA KALELKAR.
25-12-55

INTRODUCTION

Russia is a land of mysteries. Everything about Russia is generally considered to be safely concealed behind the strong 'Iron Curtain'. We have very little reliable information regarding that big country, its huge developmental activities, its approach to Socialism and its re-organisation of its society. What little we get is all coloured by the source—capitalistic or imperialistic.

I had visited the Soviet lands on four occasions since early in 1952 spending over four months in all. I travelled far and wide in those countries (over 23,000 miles) and returned impressed by their great achievements in various nation-building activities, by the enthusiasm of her people, by their confidence in their national leaders, by their spirit of co-operation, adaptability and other commendable qualities. From whatever I had seen, I came to the conclusion that we have very much to learn from that country and her people. Much of these impressions have been since endorsed by many other visitors of late—the most noteworthy amongst them being our Prime Minister Nehru.

Many of us had, and even today have, a number of crude notions about Russia and her ideal of Communism. This account should dispel many of our doubts, and place before us a clear picture of the present-day happenings in that country.

In this booklet about a dozen of my articles, which have appeared at varying times during the course of the last three years (1952-54), have been collected in order to make it available in a permanent and convenient form

for the benefit of the curious reader. As these have been written as separate articles, at different times there is bound to be some repetitions for which we crave the indulgence of the readers. I am thankful to the journals concerned for permission to reproduce these. I am indebted to Sri M. Vinaik for having brought the materials together.

T. Kallupatti,
Via Tirumangalam, S. Ry.

J. C. KUMARAPPA,
1st January 1956.

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PART I
GENERAL

GENERAL

I—MOSCOW

I went to Russia first in March, 1952 as a delegate to the International Conference of Economists. As the route *via* Kabul was blocked by bad weather we had to reach Moscow *via* Zurich and Prague. The Conference took up ten days—3rd to the 13th April. Then we visited Leningrad for three days; Tashkent, the Capital of Uzbeck Republic, for another three days; Fergahans, north of Gilgit, for a day; Stalingrad for another three more days and returned to Moscow to attend the Labour Day Celebrations. We left Moscow and returned *via* Tashkent and Kabul to Ahmedabad on the 11th May. Russia is about seven times as large as India with about half the population. On the first trip, we had travelled in all about 8,000 miles by air and land and spent 45 days there.

During our stay we visited factories, Kolkhos, Govkhos or Government Experimental Farms, Co-operatives, Cultural Palaces for labour, Pioneer Palaces for children, Social work Centres connected with these and other places of interest.

Our six weeks' programme was crowded with new experiences. We were faced with novel valuations and baffling situations. A few of these will be set out below for the benefit of our readers. My purpose is not merely to satisfy the curious but to draw such lessons as we can from the invaluable experiments carried out on such a vast scale for the first time in the history of mankind.

We reached Moscow about midnight on the 2nd April 1952. The whole earth, all along the way, was covered with snow.

Our hotel, the Moskoba, is opposite the famous Kremlin, the centre of the Government of U. S. S. R. The Conference will meet this afternoon.

(*Extracts from Sri J. C. Kumarappa's letter*)

II—BERLIN

The next occasion I had to go to Europe was to attend the Extra-ordinary Meeting of the World Peace Council at Berlin, from 3rd to 5th July, 1952.

We reached Berlin at 2-30 a.m. on the 3rd July, 1952, and were put up at the Newa Hotel.

A fair share of the time of the Council was taken up in receiving evidence of the bacteriological warfare and the use of Napalm bombs on the Koreans by the Americans.

I stressed the need for non-violent non-co-operation with America, if we desired to have no part or parcel in such sordid business, by withdrawing ourselves from all trade and commerce with the U. S. A. until this Korean War was stopped.

After the sessions were over we toured East Germany. We noticed the tremendous efforts put forward at reconstructing the ruins of Germany. At Berlin itself a great deal of the ruins had not been removed. At Stalin Alley modern flats were being erected for the workers with the latest conveniences of central heating, with running hot and cold water, electricity and radio and television equipments. Kaiser's Palace had been

rased to the ground. Now it is an open space "Marx and Engles Square". Such has been the fate of many a palatial residence along Unter den Linden Strauss. The steel ribs of the Reichstag Building were mercilessly exposed to public gaze.

The ruins of Dresden were such as to bring tears to the eyes of even the brave. Some of us helped in clearing the debris.

We visited the country-side too and saw the brave efforts of the people at meeting the food shortage.

Then we had a rapid round of Czechoslovakia, making Hotel Alcron at Prague our base.

We returned to Bombay on the 19th July 1952.

III—VIENNA

On the third occasion, I left Bombay for Karachi by Air India on Sunday morning 7th December, 1952 for Paris.

The most interesting event on the journey was my meeting the 'Red Dean' of Canterbury at Zurich. He was also bound for Vienna for this Congress. Men of his type belong to an honest tribe who see good wherever it may come from. When some of the disciples of Jesus saw a man, from outside their group, casting out devils, healing the sick, etc. they went to Jesus and said "Master, we saw a man healing the sick etc. in thy name and we forbade him." Jesus replied " Forbid him not, for he that is not against us is for us". What we want today is this broad outlook. The disciples wanted a monopoly of their master, but Jesus was not to be circumscribed by narrow loyalties.

Similarly, when the "Red Dean" speaks well of the achievements of China and Russia the English people feel called upon to disown him. The spirit is the same as it was during Jesus' time. This narrowness has to go if our vision is to be universal. All that is good can only come from one source. We need this broadness of vision and loyalty. In India, too, we are rather inclined to appreciate imperialistic U. S. A. and Great Britain than Socialist Russia or China. The latter may not be wholly Gandhian but they are nearer it than the Western Powers.

Vienna is divided into five Zones. Hotel Mozart is in the American Zone. Our Congress Hall is in the International zone the authority of which changes every month. The authorities this month are the Russians. Hence, they had chosen to hold this Congress here this month.

At the Session, I explained the view of "Dharma" by which we hold peace to be the natural outcome of man's life on the spiritual level. After the Congress, we left *via* Budapest for Moscow for a tour of the Soviet land.

We attended the World Congress for Peace and then went to Moscow.

Our tour in the Soviets has been very instructive, looked at historically too. The relics of Leningrad reminded one of the pomp and glory of the feudal days. The innumerable feudal palaces have now been converted into permanent exhibitions, museums, art galleries etc. which are utilized as instruments of adult education. They are beautifully maintained and thoughtfully altered to serve modern needs.

We too can use our New Delhi mansions and Maharaja's palaces in this way, if we had only the will to do so. New Delhi is still under feudal traditions. It too one day will meet an "October Revolution of 1917". Perhaps, we are fast heading towards it.

When Feudalism was overthrown Russia was in the melting pot in the twenties. Lenin's Mausoleum at Moscow reminded us of the Statesman Philosopher who appeared as a prophet to bring order out of chaos. He began to give shape and organisation to a "Humanity uprooted".

Then we visited Gori, in Georgia, the birth-place of Stalin. His mission in life was to lick into shape the ideas of Lenin and give them a practical form. At Tiblissi we also saw Stalin's underground printing press to which access was through a well. Here, during the Czarist's Regime, Stalin printed and distributed his revolutionary leaflets. He was sent to Siberia six times and every time he escaped from prison and returned to continue his underground work.

Upto this time Russia was mostly concerned with her own reconstruction and had attracted little interest as a world force, excepting as a possible source of an ideology inconvenient to capitalism and imperialism.

Then when Russia was dragged into the global war and she had to cross swords with Germany at Stalingrad, she became a world power and the death knell of capitalism and imperialism was tolled. At present the various imperialist powers are straining every nerve to again dominate the world. The underdeveloped countries are eagerly looking at the object lesson in social justice set before them by the Soviet.

We took in Stalingrad on our way back to Moscow from Georgia. At Stalingrad we had the chance of seeing a sample of the mighty reconstruction work undertaken for the betterment of the people. The head of the Volga-Don Canal was visited by us. This system provides water transport from the White Sea in the North, the Baltic Sea in the West, the Black Sea in the South, and the Caspian Sea in the South-East. It irrigates millions of hectares* of land and generates electricity on a large scale.

Then we returned to India on the 25th January, 1953.

(*Extract from Sri Kumarappaji's letters*)

IV—BERLIN, STOCKHOLM AND PARIS

Last time I left Bombay on the 18th May, 1954 to attend the World Peace Council at Berlin from the 21st to 29th May, 1954. We were lodged at Hotel Johannisof.

After the session, we toured East Germany for a week and then I went to spend some time in Bulgaria. While I was at Stalin (Old Varna) on the Black Sea, I was summoned to the International Peace Conference at Stockholm from the 19th to the 24th June. At this meeting, I traced the causes of international insecurity and suggested remedies.

From Stockholm I flew to London, breaking my journey for two days at Copenhagen. I spent about four weeks, touring Great Britain, before going to Paris on the 28th July to attend the Conference of the War Resisters' International. At the War Resisters' Inter-

*A hectare is about 2½ acres.

national Conference I explained how through the mechanism of fixing prices the under-developed countries are exploited by imperialist nations. This exploitation is made possible by the imperialists' resorting to violence. So a fundamental change in our economic organisation was called for, with a proper education of the consumers.

Then I returned *via* Southampton to Colombo by boat on the 19th August.

(*Extracts from letters*)

The tour of the Soviet land extended over four months and covered over twentytwo thousand miles while these other travels took an additional six weeks over other countries of Europe and covered another two thousand five hundred miles. In these calculations the journeys from India to Switzerland are not counted. A summary of the speeches referred to above has been given in Part IV of this Book.

PART II

SOVIET ECONOMICS

CHAPTER I

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ECONOMISTS

This Economic Conference was unlike anything we organise in India, where theoretical and academic lectures are read out to superannuated 'professors' of economics. They are extensions of the class room. Here, bulk of the delegates were hard-headed businessmen. This Economic Conference did not discuss or refine subtle economic theories, but had confined itself to finding ways and means of promoting economic transactions, allowing any theory arising out of such transactions to formulate itself. Out of about 35 delegates from India only three may be called "Economists". All the others were practical people representing various walks of economic life such as Industry, Business, Commerce and Trade, Trade Unions, Labour etc.

I am giving below a copy of the two resolutions which I had submitted. In substance the suggestions had been more or less unanimously accepted, strange to say, supported by two British Members of Parliament and the Editor of "Dawn" of Pakistan. All these suggestions have now been entrusted to a drafting committee and I cannot say in what form they will emerge. You will be surprised, as I was, that the second resolution was taken up with great interest, while the India Government and the Commerce and Industry Ministry look askance at it.

The Two Resolutions :

1. *Planned International Trade :*

Whereas Free Trade between industrially well-developed countries and under-developed countries

places the latter under a disadvantage as regards bargaining power,

Whereas International Trade ultimately represents to-day exchange of goods between individuals without reference to the rational needs of the country from the point of view of a well-planned and balanced economy of the country as a whole,

Whereas the conditions for maintenance of a world-wide planned order requires that each country should be based on a planned economy co-ordinated to the world order,

Whereas in the form in which International Trade is organised to-day, moral and human values, consequent on these transactions, are hidden away and the deals often give rise to much injustice and suffering in under-developed countries,

Whereas misdirection of International Trade often promotes conflicts between nations and whereas, in the interests of world peace, it is imperative to channel the exchange of goods between nations in a rational way,

It is hereby recommended that all International Trade should be subject to careful scrutiny and study and then fitted into the planned economy of each country, care being taken that the after effects of the deal are to the mutual benefit of the participating individuals and countries.

It is also recommended that a World Bureau of International Trade should be instituted to fulfil the objects enumerated above, to study available resources, methods of production best suited to the

circumstances and the pattern of consumption indicated by the people's tradition and culture and to disseminate such knowledge.

2. *Promotion of Cottage Industries*:

Whereas the economy of under-developed countries calls for special condsideration and treatment,

Whereas the principles that apply to industrialised countries do not often hold good for under-developed countries,

Whereas maldistribution of wealth is a common feature of under-developed countries,

Whereas pressure on agricultural land and general under-employment are problems facing under-developed countries,

It is hereby recommended that all raw materials produced in such countries should, as far as possible, be processed to as near a state of consumer goods as possible, by simple cottage and home industries to provide gainful occupation to the unemployed and under employed population, thus relieving the pressure on land.

To this end, imports of such competing products manufactured on a large-scale basis, in centralized factories, in other industrialized countries, should be discouraged on humanitarian grounds. In any case, such imports should not be allowed to make inroads into the sphere of cottage industries and dislodge them. If possible, the effect of a planned International Trade should be to foster cottage industries in countries in

which such an economy is indicated by the demands of nature and where the resources available call for such methods of production. In countries so constituted, the standard of living can be raised only by providing gainful occupations and by conserving their products for local consumption in the first instance.

Russia had ventured on the experiment to usher in an equalitarian society. She may not have attained the ideal but she has more than surpassed expectations to the extent of causing a consternation in the imperialist camp. Hence, she demands our attention.

THE IRON CURTAIN

Russia had been more or less a land of mysteries because of the so-called Iron Curtain. People are naturally very curious to know what is happening behind the iron curtain. Russia's iron curtain is not meant to hurt those outside it, but is intended to protect itself from external influences. When we want a small plant to grow, we put up a fencing round it to protect it from goats and cows. In the same way, in a zoo you will find iron bars placed between tigers and lambs. This is to protect the lambs. The iron curtain of the Soviet Russians is to protect Russia from the lions and tigers of western imperialisms. Russia is trying to develop a new social order. And if you turn on the gutter waters from Imperialist countries to flow in, the new socialistic experiment cannot possibly develop. So Russia found it very necessary to have this dam built. The real reason behind the iron curtain in Russia is to keep out foreigners who will interfere and ruin the experiment which is going on there for the social reconstruction of Russia.

OUR STEEL PURDAH

We too have a steel curtain in India, but that is between the rulers and the ruled. Government officials go to the villages in European dress (with hats, boots etc.) and the poor agriculturists are scared and run away from them and thus we have created a steel curtain of mistrust and suspicion. This exists from the peasants upwards right to the Rashtrapati Bhavan. The villagers feel that officials are like tigers or lions and they feel the need to protect themselves from them. It was with the intention of removing this sort of an iron curtain that Gandhiji and constructive workers put on simple clothes of Khadi. Any push or pressure from outside will not reconstruct India. We have to approach the villagers in their own way, on their own terms. We must be one of them ; there should be no iron curtain between the workers and the people.

The pomp and show they put up in Delhi, for instance, is to 'maintain dignity' and build up a steel curtain. There must not be any wall between the ruler and the ruled, if the people are to have confidence in those in office, which is so essential for national progress.

To-day we, the constructive workers, feel that there is an iron curtain between the Government and the people and we should try to break it down. One of the ways of doing so is to remove the economic and social inequalities. Only then the rulers will come down to the level of the people and there will be no 'iron curtain' between them. In Russia, the iron curtain is a sort of fencing to shut out the outside world. In India, it is within our own society itself and it prevents the levelling up of the classes and their coming together.

The iron curtain of Russia has enabled their plan to grow and progress well, under the organising care of the rulers. Their classes and masses have merged together. There is little difference in food, clothing etc. between the ordinary workers and the leaders. A Director of a factory may be getting 5,000 roubles and an unskilled worker (a woman who sweeps the roads) may get 500 roubles monthly. So 1 : 10 is about the ratio between the highest and the lowest. To apply it to our own condition, the sweepers or the scavengers have to get Rs. 100/– a month and a Birla or a Tata will have to be allowed only Rs. 1,000/–. Only then we can bring the people to a level where there will be real and mutual understanding.

In Russia, the people being protected from outside interference, live without fear. They have developed no fear complex. They have full confidence in their leaders. They feel that whatever may happen to the outside world they are perfectly safe in the hands of their leaders. This is exactly the opposite of the position in India. Here everybody suspects Government officials and even Ministers.

Production:

Practically all production in Russia is in the hands of the Government. Directors, officers, managers, and workers all are working together and obtain their living in the form of salaries. Nearly about 70 per cent of the income that the Government gets is from various industries. From this income the Government finances the industries and the welfare services to the people also. The Soviet Government spends about 35 per cent on Education and welfare services, about 40 per cent on financing the National economy, about 20 per cent on Defence and the balance on Administration.

A woman street sweeper at work on Gorky street, Moscow. Notice the cotton stalk-like broom she uses. She is paid about Rs. 450/- per month.

(*To face page 18*)

Russia was under an autocratic Government. Even their religion is centralized. Therefore, people are used to giving implicit obedience to those in authority. It is just the opposite in India. Hinduism is not a centralised religion. It gives room for a variety of views and traditions. So whatever the results the Russians may produce through their method of organisation, we cannot expect to get the same results in India with the same method. The Communists in India are, therefore, on the wrong track when they copy Russia without any consideration for the traditions and background in India. The only point of comparison is that Russia, like India, had a feudal system. This is the only similarity. But other things are very different.

So we must be very careful in adopting Russian methods. Our conditions are more similar to conditions in China. In Russia, when an order is given, it is as good as done, because the people do not question their leaders. The people are like machines. They have not been left much initiative of their own. So while the results the Russians have obtained are remarkable, they have attained them through their implicit obedience and regimentation of thought and action.

Consumption:

They have produced much consumer goods. They have enough food, clothing and shelter. Production is standardised. Their articles may not be as good as the articles which are made in America or in Britain. But they have to consume what is produced. As they are working behind the curtain, even if they want to, they cannot buy foreign articles. Their shops are stocked full of consumer goods and are packed with jostling crowds eager to spend their earnings, as they must spend their incomes and not accumulate them. There is a bewilder-

ing variety of goods available. They produce from a jet plane to an album of used stamps for the delectation of children. They have a surfeit in food and clothing. Who will not put confidence in leaders who help to produce so much material goods ?

The Spirit of Swadeshi :

In India, even if there be a half-anna difference in the price of an article, people will go for the cheaper variety regardless of whether it is home produced or is made in Japan or in America. That is the spirit we have, while in Russia, even if the price is ten times more the people have to buy only Russian-made articles. In India, from the Prime Minister at the top to the Chaprasi at the bottom, people will go for cheap articles even though the articles may be foreign. But the Russians are proud of using their own articles, labour and designs, however costly they may be. This swadeshi spirit has to be revived in India before we can progress. Now, if we go to one of our Ministers and ask for his pen, he will immediately produce his Parker pen very proudly. Such must be sent out of India and be asked to search for a job in America. Anyone who buys a foreign article should be regarded as a traitor. He is a foreign agent. If you go to the houses of our Ministers you will find mirrors made in Belgium. But if you go to Russian palaces you will find mirrors in which you cannot even recognise your face, but all made in their own country! That is the spirit they have. I do not say that the Russian goods are all bad. But many of them are not comparable even to our Indian goods.

Whatever may be the Russian capacity to produce finished goods, I have no doubt that our workmanship is in no way inferior, and, therefore, even if we have to stand competition from Western countries, I am sure our

workmanship will be capable of rising to the occasion in the long run. But if we want to progress quickly immediate protection, from Western and foreign goods dumped on our markets, is necessary.

Money Values:

In Russia, the articles are not priced as we price our products. Regardless of costs, luxury goods are priced high and goods needed by the masses are priced low. Therefore, many things we would expect to be cheap in Russia are really expensive. Our idea of values, we find, is altogether upside down when we go to Russia.

A servant in a hotel will be getting 1,500 or 2,000 roubles per month. (The exchange value of a rouble is a little more than a rupee.) But the purchasing value of 1,500 to 2,000/- roubles will be equal to 100 to 150 rupees. A cup of cocoa costs nearly Rs. 3/-. Russians want equal distribution of their wealth. The people who serve and the people who are served have to enjoy equal rights to food, clothing etc.

In India, our village people are being exploited as they cannot even get a proper price for their production. The villagers have to sell their things at a cheap rate so that the city people may have the benefit of it. We are thus exploiting our villagers.

With us everything depends upon the question, "Will it pay or will it compete?" But in Russia the question is "Will that feed the man?" One cup of cocoa costs 2.5 roubles and he who wants it has to pay it whatever he may earn, if he wants luxuries.

Social Values:

They have a keen social sense of satisfaction and they feel happy about it.

Our low price results in the starvation of the villagers, who produce the necessities. The income is not distributed equitably, while in Russia it is sought to be so adjusted and so regulated that it provides much the same return to the Director as well as to the attendant in the canteen. They are concentrating all their attention on raising the standard of living of the people.

Material Values:

In cities there are old palaces and big buildings. But the village houses are comparable to the houses in Maganwadi.* As they are spending considerable amounts on defence, the standard of living is lower than that of the Americans but higher than ours.

The main roads in Russia are very good, but the condition of village roads is comparable to ours. The city roads are even broader than those of New York or London.

The conditions of village life are not as good as one would expect, considering the advance the Russians have made in technology. Even Aerodromes are simple and are not comparable to those in India. The buildings of the aerodromes are *katchcha* like our Maganwadi buildings. But they use wooden planks plastered over with mud instead of bamboo splits as in Maganwadi.* We in India have nothing to eat but we are building aerodromes with concrete etc. keeping pace with wealthy America!

The Russian pilots are very skilful. Though they have no elaborate runways, yet they can land the plane on grassy *maidans*. The poor equipment is more than made up by the skill of the pilot.

*The centre of rural construction at Wardha, M. P. built up by Sri Kumarappa.

The Family:

In Russia, the family is again becoming the centre of social life foundation. They have placed a high value on family relations. They have tightened up divorces. I understand that the incidence of venereal diseases is very low as prostitution has been outlawed. In America or in Britain, during festival days and holidays, you will find all sorts of couples disgracing the parks and open spaces. In Russia, during 'May Day' festival, most of the girls went together and boys kept separate and there was orderliness and everything was becoming. There is more respect for family life.

Tempo of Life:

Though the Russians are for large-scale production, the tempo of their production is not as high as in America. For instance, in car and tractor plants I had visited, I noticed that the conveyor belts moved so slow that a worker can attend five or six nuts at a time, while the pace set in America will allow only for about two or three nuts at a time. The American may be more efficient but his tempo is nerveracking. If the Russian worker is not efficient, they do not discharge him. They will get him trained. But in America he will be "fired". In Russia, they would not do it as they are also interested in the man and not merely in material production.

Conclusion:

I would say that the Russian model may be the best for their own circumstances and environment. India cannot follow the Russian model as we do not have the same history and disciplined behaviour pattern. Unlimited centralized and standardized production is based on regimentation, which ultimately leads to violence and disruption of society.

But we can take up all their good points. The position that the leaders occupy in Russia is an enviable one. They lead and guide people as one among them and not drive the people from behind. We should also emulate their patriotic fervour, their spirit of self-sufficiency and swadeshi, though we may not take to their methodology. We can develop their co-operative spirit. Their co-operative effort is admirable. They build canals and various things for common use in a spirit of social service. This social consciousness we lack.

If we can generate one of their greatest secrets of power, the confidence of the masses in their leaders, we shall have solved half our problems. The people have full confidence that their affairs are being looked after properly by the leaders. They know that they can follow them blindly. I believe we too can build up a leadership of that kind in India, if the needed social philosophy is forthcoming. We need a well-defined and generally accepted goal.

We shall have to work out our problems on our own lines. We cannot blindly follow Russia or China. We have to solve our questions in our own way. But we can accept certain principles from them. If we do that we may be able to go even further than Russia or China. The Russian human material is not much superior to our human material. If we put out our best, we can attain even greater results than Russia.

Russian greatness lies in their power to organise and their singleness of purpose once the goal is set. Can we ever reach their standards in this?

The iron curtain is a condition precedent to the violent methods adopted by Russia.

In a family of nations, we cannot always live with permanent iron curtains, built up out of suspicion and hatred. The maintenance charges of such iron curtains swallow up all the advantages of technological advances and leaves the masses in comparative poverty still. The competitive race in armaments leads us to destruction. The only solution is self-sufficiency, which Russia finds behind the iron curtain, and method of production of consumer goods by a decentralized organisation, which alone will lead to real peace and progress.

Notwithstanding the undoubtedly great achievements to her credit, Russia is in a precarious unstable equilibrium no less than America. Both need for their very existence enormous buttresses of violence. With such an order neither of them can contribute to the peace and goodwill in the comity of nations. Russia cannot afford to rest on her oars. She has to seek other methods if her genuine and intense desire for peace is to be attained. Can it be that the International Economic Conference recently held at Moscow is a feeler in that direction? May her quest be rewarded for the well-being of the whole world.

June 1952 —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

CHAPTER II

EQUALITARIAN SOCIETY

An Equalitarian Society is not built up by any automatic devices. It is a conscious and rational working of any group of people towards a set goal. It will not work on any haphazard methods. It requires a sustained social education to back it up. In the Soviet economic field the principles that are involved are not the same as those that we are accustomed to in the capitalistic society. Supply and demand are consciously directed and regulated. The price mechanism is used without any speculative element in it to control distribution and production of wealth. The price mechanism is not allowed to be affected by considerations of private profit or competition. It is governed by social values. The thing desired is not purely low prices. Consciously the prices may have to be fixed high for purposes of giving reasonable income to particular classes. The cost is not worked out purely on the competitive prices paid for the materials and labour. Labour itself is not taken into the cost of goods from the point of view of competitive low wages.

Wages are fixed from a consideration of what would be required to maintain the producer and his dependants over a period of time which may be, not merely a harvest season or an agricultural season or any such short periods, but may even cover the whole year. For instance, a *pylee** of rice at present may cost Rs. 0-12-0, but that price represents probably partial starvation for eight months to the landless labourer who produced that rice. In an equalitarian society the landless labourer should not only be fed and clothed for

*Pylee—An unit of measure used in Madhya Pradesh.

the season, but throughout the year on a reasonable, satisfactory basis. His food will not be purely rice, water and chillies. It must include what the dietecians demand for a balanced diet. If this method of calculating is pursued it would mean, perhaps, that a pylee of rice may be priced at Rs. 5 as against our previous Rs. 0-12-0. The old price is under conditions of exploitation and the suggested price, though it may appear high, makes for an equalitarian society. Hence, there is a considerable amount of confusion caused by not understanding the ideas and principles that govern a society aiming at equality, and those of a society based on self-indulgence.

We may cite here the question of the cost of handloom cloth in Madras. The controversy between the Chief Minister of Madras and the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry has brought out in bold relief the difficulties of carrying on a government without a set purpose or a well-defined goal. The Union Minister talks of high cost of handloom cloth and holds a brief for cheap goods, while the Chief Minister enunciates a crucial point of high policy when he declares 'The question is not a question of yardage, but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore of the Central Government also.'

The care of the welfare of human families will involve the duty of seeing to the equitable distribution of wealth. Maldistribution of wealth is a chronic malady of the capitalist economy. The state capitalism prevailing in Soviet Russia has tried to handle this problem through the price mechanism. Cost, profit or competition do not wholly control the situation. In Russia they decide on the equitable income every person

of like ability should have and distribute it over the efficient production of such a person. Supposing a professor or an engineer is given an income of Rs. 300 per month and a skilled *mochi* (shoemaker) is considered equal to such in his field, then such a *mochi* also should have an income of Rs. 300 per month. To do this we have to estimate how many shoes he can produce in a month working to his full capacity. If we find he can make 15 pairs, then the price per pair will have to be Rs. 20 each plus cost. This will mean pushing up the prices which would otherwise prevail on a competitive basis.

Thus if the Madras Chief Minister's idea of the functions of the state were to hold the field, not only will the present prices of handloom cloth be high but they may even have to be pushed up further to give those families an equitable standard of living. At the moment our Government has no set goal and hence this confusion between the lines of argument pursued by the two Ministers. The Union Minister takes a capitalistic stand while the Madras Chief Minister, in a lucid moment, argues like a good socialist.

The experiment in Russia proves that in an equalitarian society prices will be high, not because of exploitation, but because of better distribution. This means remuneration will also be high all round. The idea that centralized methods of production produce cheap goods on account of their greater efficiency is dashed to the ground. If such goods are low priced it is because of exploitation. With all their efficiency Russian prices are several times what prevail in other similarly placed countries, because labour and skilled work are paid high and very often on the same terms as engineers and other professional workers. Hence if we aim at an equalitarian society based on social justice, we must be prepared for higher prices, but then, when the increase is all

round, it will only affect the rich, as they are the only ones who will have to pay more while in an equalitarian society they may get less.

In the nature of things it follows that an equalitarian society cannot have an open market with an economy of competition based on exploitation. Hence the iron curtain of Russia.

Thus, unless we have a definite goal in view, we shall be working at cross purposes by using common terms which are employed both in the socialist state and under capitalism. The contents of these terms may appear the same while in reality they are not.

It is necessary for us, in India, to understand clearly what our freedom means. If it is freedom to exploit the helpless then we fix low prices in prime necessities. This will bring in a series of famines and distresses of various kinds to the helpless, while it will facilitate indulgence of the over-rich. Present conditions in India are clear indications that we are pursuing the non-socialist idea of exploitation. It is time that we took stock of the events of the last few years and set about forming an equalitarian society.

November 1952 —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

CHAPTER III

SARVODAYA AND SOVIET SOCIALISM*

As the name indicates 'Sarvodaya' means the uplifting of all. Therefore there is no place in it for class warfare. The class struggle, as we find it in Russia, was a result of historical circumstances. It was generated by the oppression under the Czarist regime. In this struggle great many had to perish and others were liquidated. Therefore the Russian struggle is far from Sarvodaya. It may be mentioned any movement based on violence cannot be Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya necessarily has to be based on Non-violence and Truth.

One thing that is common between Sarvodaya and Russian Socialism is the deep concern for the under-privileged. Perhaps we, who call ourselves Sarvodaya workers, have not caught the spirit which has brought about the Russian Organisation. We hear a great deal in India of Sarvodaya but, that intense zeal and singleness of purpose, which we find in Russia, is lacking in us.

Our sense of social justice should find itself in all stages of production, distribution and consumption. For example there may be violence and untruth even in the use of milk. We have got to see that the cow, the producer, should be properly fed. If it is not so fed and we continue to take its milk we shall be guilty of violence. In priority to the claim on milk the calf comes first. The calf should have its right to its mother's milk respected; hence until the calf is fully fed, taking away its share of milk will amount to violence and dishonesty.

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*Summary of an address by Sri J. C. Kumarappa to the Bihar Sarvodaya Students Conference at Patna.

After the calf has been fed, the next priority is that of the children of the milkmen. If because of the monetary value offered the milkman snatches away the milk from the mouths of his children, the buyers of this milk will also be partakers in that violence. Money offered is not of the same value as the milk. Hence, there is a large measure of deceit practised. So we see in proper Sarvodaya the feeling of oneness and uplift must extend not only to our fellow human beings, but also to those animals closely associated with us.

In the economic field the principles applied in Russia follow the principles of Sarvodaya. The needs of the workers are the determining factors for fixing prices. In India, the rice grower is often starved for most part of the year while the rice that he produces feeds fat the moneyed people in towns. This is an intolerable position. The rice producer should have the first priority over his production. The prices should be so fixed that what he produces will support him in reasonable comfort throughout the year. Naturally, therefore, the prices of some of the commodities of prime necessities will have to be stepped up.

The cobbler in Russia will get what any skilled worker should get. If a Professor in a University gets 3,000 roubles per month, the prices of footwear will be so arranged that the cobbler, being a skilled worker also, gets the same amount of 3,000 roubles a month. From this it follows that footwear in Russia will be several times the price prevailing in India. The capitalistic method which believes in buying cheap and selling dear is a slogan of the exploiter. As long as our economic organisation represents an expression of this principle we shall be far away from Sarvodaya.

The needs of the workers also are often not taken into consideration in the wage-ridden economy. Our

labourers in factories get a wage determined by the market rates that the commodities, which they produce, will fetch. In Russia, although there may be a ruling rate yet through the means of social welfare services and ultra-factory considerations the worker is given a square deal. The foreman may be drawing 2,000 roubles a month and paying about 200 roubles for a two-room apartment, while a worker under him, working on piece work, may get 2,500 roubles, because of his over-fulfilling his targets, and because he may be having more persons dependent on him than the foreman, he may be given a four-room apartment at one-fourth the charges made to the foreman. Here, we see, the needs of the worker playing a part in the benefits he receives. In this way also our country is not yet anywhere near realising Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya is on our lips, not in our hearts and much less in our practice.

In addition to this economic spirit of Sarvodaya, there is also Sarvodaya in the social status. Thus we find in Gandhiji's movement the place given to the welfare of the Harijans and Adivasis. In Russia, there is absolutely no sign of any colour, creed or class distinction. To a much greater extent they have gone further than we have in this programme. They respect a human being as a human being whatever be his nationality.

Politically, our idea of Sarvodaya is least expressed. Universal franchise by itself, or organisational democracy in form, do not bring in Sarvodaya. Real Sarvodaya should be looked for in the effective expression of the opinion of the least amongst us in the councils of the nation.

In our country under the party system, decisions go by party loyalties and have absolutely no relationship to

the opinion of the least amongst us. The needs of the villagers are not in the forefront in plans for the welfare of the country.

Sarvodaya should not be merely a passive force. It is in an active form that it can bring the erring ones into line with the rest. Deviations from the will of the people in ancient village organisations was met by the erring member being dubbed "Gram-Drohin" which meant practical excommunication. In modern economic jargon we may call it "boycott". For instance, if we do not approve of germ warfare in Korea or of throwing napalm bombs on innocent men, women and children, we may declare non-co-operation with the erring members of the human family and treat them as "Duniya Drohins". This is non-violent non-co-operation.

In the Russian setting this sanction was applied during the days of the revolution by bodily removing the offending members out of society. Such application of sanctions are not practicable in a Sarvodaya society where even the offending member is given the right of existence under limited circumstances without bodily hurt.

This non-violent Sarvodaya remains with us only as our ideal. Though the Russians do not pretend to have brought Sarvodaya they have gone further in putting into practice many of the principles of Sarvodaya. Let us aim at bringing real Sarvodaya into India. For this we may well emulate the Russian singleness of purpose, their openheartedness and unwavering steadfastness in their action. Only thus can we usher in Sarvodaya.

—*Gram Udyog Patrika*

April, 1953

CHAPTER IV

SOVIET WELFARE STATE

The Soviet Government has its attention fixed on the interests of the workers. Everywhere within the Soviet Union working people are a pampered lot and quite rightly too. Their interests are always before the Government; and the solution of their problem of food, clothing and shelter is receiving constant attention; we may almost say, the problem of primary needs has been largely solved. The single-minded concentration on the problems of the working people is unique in Soviet Russia. You do not find such attention bestowed on the masses in any of the capitalistic countries. In our country, we may almost say, there is utter callousness in this regard. Hence, with this background, I cannot but appreciate what is being done in Russia. Whatever criticism we may have to offer regarding their ways, their goal is a laudable one. We must be prepared to see the good even if it be in the devil. This does not mean I approve of everything that is Russian nor advocate their methods.

Violence:

As regards violence, when there is a planned economy following a revolution, there is bound to be violence and Russian Revolution being one that uprooted the whole society it was naturally violent. They had never pretended to be non-violent. They know nothing better. They did not have a Gandhiji to direct them in the proper way. They did what they considered best according to their lights.

Most of this talk about non-violence and the degree of violence in Russia generally emanates from

the American bloc who are not far behind the Russians. If anything, if the active part of violence is to be considered, at the moment, the Americans are leading in the world of violence especially as shown in the Korean War. It ill becomes such people to throw stones at the Russian group. As far as we are concerned, we have had the advantage of better direction and therefore we have to be faithful to the light that has been shed by our leader—Gandhiji. Our responsibility is great.

In regard to the amount of violence in the Soviet to-day, I can only say that as far as I am concerned, I saw little of it. It is no good harping on what Russia was thirty years ago. It has changed considerably within this generation. In all its plans and methods it has been constantly adjusting itself to the circumstances as they arose, with the result, it will be as unfair to criticise them taking them as they might have been a generation ago as it would be to criticise the Christian Churches in the West to-day in the light of the inquisitions which characterised them in the middle ages.

While friends raise their holy hands in horror at the supposed violence of the Soviets our constructive workers are falling over each other to carry out the American-sponsored Community Projects! Is the brand of violence of the Americans, by which human beings are turned into living flaming torches by their Napalm bombs and healthy men, women and children are turned into corpses by their germ warfare, more acceptable to us? Let us be sober in our judgment and not be carried away by propaganda.

Food:

By a widespread river control the Russians have utilised vast tracts of parched lands. We have already

mentioned the country-wide Volga-Don-Canal. Even among the allied nations they have enthused the local population to exert themselves to help in food production by irrigation. At Ferghana, about 400 miles from Tashkent, we saw how about 160,000 people in 45 days completed 150 kilos of a canal. The workers had their lands by the proposed canal, and came to work for food and shelter so that they may get their own lands irrigated when the canal was constructed. Thus they solved their food problem.

As far as I could see, there was no dearth of food in Russia. Everybody seemed to get not only enough food but food of high quality. They also had enough clothing to suit the seasons. Their housing problem is receiving immediate attention and their programme in this regard is being executed rapidly.

Education:

In regard to education tremendous effort is made all through the day to increase the capacity of the worker. In the evenings, in their Cultural Palaces, various forms of opportunities are offered, to those who are so inclined, to improve themselves. Teachers of the highest order are available in these Cultural Palaces to train men and women in the lines they have chosen as their own. Many of the old palaces and mansions of the rich have been converted into such cultural palaces. In big cities like Moscow and Leningrad it is not a rar ething to find within the four walls of a mansion from six to seven thousand people undergoing training of an evening.

Apart from such utilitarian training, they are also provided with outlets for the expression of their artistic nature. Music, dancing, painting, drama and all other such arts are practised under expert supervision and

J. C. Kumarappa being shown round the 4th century Cathedral by an Archdeacon of the Russian Orthodox Church, near Tiblisi (Republic of Georgia) *(To face page 37)*

their performances are of a high order and the best of artists in the line take part in them. In this way, their human needs, above that of the animal, are also taken care of.

Children:

For the very young, there are extremely well-managed creches in which young ones are taken care of while the mother is at work. One may question whether this attempt, to relieve the mother of her primary duty toward her little ones to become a producer, is a healthy one. However, the way it is done is above criticism. The places are clean; the children are given fresh clothes and kept under the care of uniformed nurses in spotless linen. Even the visitors have to don white linen over-alls before they enter these premises. They have solariums for the children to rest in the middle of the day. They are provided with refreshments during the time they are under care. The mothers bring the children in the morning and have access to them during the day while needed, such as while nursing, and they are taken away by the mothers in the evening.

Slightly older children have kindergarten schools where they are entertained and trained in ways that will suit them for their future education.

School-going children have Pioneer Palaces. These buildings have usually been taken from the plutocrats of Czarist regimes. These old luxurious homes have been converted into nurseries of the future citizens. Here also, considerable amount of thought and energy has been spent; libraries, reading rooms and also training and practising in the various arts are provided for the young ones who will ultimately decide the destinies of the nation. Of course, in all

these cases, children are kept under expert supervision and care. These opportunities are given to them at Government expense. Very often the services of high placed experts on various topics are made available.

Health and Welfare:

Apart from these developmental efforts they provide vast services to maintain the health and welfare of the population. Many of the hospitals are run by doctors of whom about 75 per cent are women. Such medical men and women rarely take to private practice as they look upon their profession as one of service and not a trade for making money! I was rather surprised to find that in some of these big hospitals there was no special maternity ward. On enquiry, I was told, that they do not believe in taking expectant mothers long distances to big hospitals but they strive to provide midwifery services within a couple of miles of the workers' dwellings and therefore only surgical cases are brought to these hospitals and such are dealt with by a section of the surgical department.

In these ways, the Soviet Governments are extremely careful to provide for the needs of the people. It may mean a certain amount of public disciplined life involving enforcement of rules and regulations. This can hardly be termed, "Violence" where Government regulations are concerned. In India, the non-violence that is practised very often takes the form of freedom to spit everywhere and to commit various forms of nuisance wherever one chooses to, whether it be in railway trains or on the roads or even round-about the homes. Therefore, it passes my understanding why anybody should criticise an appreciation of a well conducted civic life on the score of public discipline.

March, 1953. —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

CHAPTER V

SOVIET CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE

We must distinguish between different forms of "Peace". We may have the graveyard peace when one nation is crushed beyond resistance by another and is kept lifeless and listless.

We may sit on a volcano by conquering a nation and keeping it subdued by military occupation. The defeated nation will be smouldering underneath with hatred until an opportunity occurs when it will blow up into open revolt.

Then we may have peace because both parties are not sure of their respective might and are biding their time to gather strength. This is temporary like an armistice.

None of these states can be termed real peace. Mere inactivity without cordial relations with the neighbours is no peace. Real peace cannot be obtained as an external gift, but has to be developed from within. Peoples should be contented with their lot and be able to provide their needs out of their resources, trade between nations being limited to exchange of proved surpluses and luxury goods. This means that every nation should work towards a state of self-sufficiency in primary needs.

This is the type of peace that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is working towards. International Trade is through Government channels and the country is being organized on a basis which will ensure material self-sufficiency on a reasonably fair standard of living while social and cultural needs are provided

for. If such conditions can be stabilised the world over we shall have lasting peace.

Gandhiji had told us that God can appear to a hungry man only in the form of Bread. Acting on this principle the Soviets have concentrated on the production of food and prime necessities. It can be safely said that every citizen of Soviet Russia is being assured of the right to live in reasonable comfort. To do this, great efforts have been made to woo nature to get her to yield bounteously.

Vast tracts of land that have been marshy swamps have been drained. Thousands of hectares of parched ground where water supply was hardly known have been made into smiling fields of grain or turned into orchards laden with fruits by the construction of an elaborate system of irrigation works. All cultivable lands, including these reclaimed lands, have been parcelled out in the form of collectives. Thus the farmers, organised co-operatively in this way, work without fear and exploitation, as they know that they will receive the fruits of their labour. Therefore they put in their very best to produce as much as possible. An elaborate system of adult education is spread through their radio and cultural palaces to make the results of the latest scientific research brought to their very doors. Thus assured of their security the people work with redoubled effort with the strength of group action.

A well-planned system of afforestation not only supplies large quantities of needed types of wood but also affects the climatic conditions favourably and protects the crops from destructive winds.

When the needed commodities have been produced the producer is assured of his returns by a well laid-out

exchange system regulating rationally the movement of goods by a State-managed price policy. The working of this exchange is affected by means of internal currency management. The rouble is but a coupon. It has neither the power of accumulation nor any value as a reservoir of purchasing power in so far as it cannot be used for interest-earning investments. The result is, the stores are packed with jostling crowds in a rush to exchange their money into a variety of consumer goods with which the shops are stocked to a bursting point. There is a plentiful supply of food and prime needs and, one may say, even of semi-luxury goods.

To enable all this to work together smoothly the wages are fixed both according to the skill involved and according to the desirability of the contribution. It is not rare to find a good worker in a factory whose monthly income is well above the remuneration of a professor at the University.

Various incentives are provided to sustain enthusiasm. The good worker not only gets more purchasing power, but is made into a hero by having his achievements made known publicly. He is adorned with decorations and awarded prizes. This places before others an example for their emulation. Thus production is encouraged, while the worker gets his satisfaction financially and socially and is made conscious that he is an important member of the local society and thereby of the nation also.

Workers realise that they are not mere dumb driven cattle but are serving the nation in a fundamental function. They are taught to look at themselves in the perspective of the nation and its needs.

To increase production the tempo of work and living is not accelerated to a point to wear out the worker. They are provided with excellent social outlets for the expression of their personality. Theatres, which were once the preserve of the upper classes, are now open to them both to contribute as artists and enjoy as participants. Their lives are enlarged by music, art and dancing. These instruments are directed to uplift the cultural level of the workers.

The tired workers have sanatoriums and rest houses where they can recoup themselves.

On the whole it may be said that the life here is well regulated and disciplined for the welfare of all concerned. The family tie has been strengthened and there is religious freedom to follow and practise their individual faith.

There is an elaborate programme of house construction to provide adequate accommodation for all. Their public buildings are not mere piles of brick and mortar but they are artistically pleasing. Their contribution to the wellbeing of the people cannot be gauged on the physical plane only.

A nation that is busily engaged in reconstruction in this manner and in contributing consciously to the life and culture of the human family, cannot be said, by any stretch of imagination, to be desiring war conditions. War will go counter to all their present activities and put back their progress. They are proud of their achievements and wiil lay down their lives in pursuit of their goal. They are a sturdy, hospitable and well-meaning people. Their very life is a denial of hatred. Conflicts can have no roots in it. Their desire for peace is not a mere put-up show but is an out-growth of their day to day life. It is basic.

In our own country, if we too desire peace we can only build it by engaging ourselves in such work of reconstruction. In so far as physical conditions, social customs and culture differ in the two countries our methods of approach and ways and means adopted by us will necessarily differ but our common goal of peace is the same.

We have famine, disease and pestilence to fight against. Nature seems angry with us. Society and powers-that-be frown on us. How shall we meet the situation? We have to win over nature, as the Soviet Republic has done, by reclaiming land, irrigating it and by educating the farmers to cultivate their holdings, not for personal gains but for the good of the nation. In the first instance, land as a means of exploitation has to be put an end to. We have to bring hope and faith into the work of the tiller. We have to seek his wellbeing. He is the foundation of society in our social order. Without his active co-operation the builders of the nation will attempt to build in vain. The centre of our activity for a permanent peace must be founded on reconstructing agricultural and village life on a rational and reasonable basis. We have to attain self-sufficiency in food and primary needs as the Soviet Republics are striving to do. We too must restrict foreign trade in such commodities. This was the teaching on the material side of life of Gandhiji—the Prophet of Peace. The Soviet Republics are putting it into practice in their own way. We have yet to take to this real work for peace, seriously. No foreigners can help us far. We have to work out our own salvation with a living faith in ourselves and firm hope in our goal. If every nation followed this policy there will be no wars, and nations will live in peace with goodwill towards their neighbours.

(*A Broadcast from Moscow*)

PART III

EAST GERMANY AND BULGARIA

CHAPTER VI

GERMANY

Perhaps the heaviest blow of the two world wars was borne by Germany. The most material damage fell to the lot of Dresden and Berlin. These are still in ruins in spite of the great rebuilding programme afoot.

In East Berlin, full advantage is being taken to build for the future. They are not satisfied with merely meeting the immediate need. Great many buildings, which are not fit for habitation, have not yet been demolished. The debris has only been cleared from the roads into the cellars. But where they are reconstructing they are doing so with an eye to the future. On Stalin Alley, the broad new main highway through East Berlin, for instance, four and five-storied blocks have been put up for workers. They are divided into flats. Many of these well-equipped flats are four-roomed ones having telephones, television receivers, self-operating lifts, and electric supply. They are all centrally heated, and are laid with gas for cooking. For conveniences and comforts these flats will compare favourably with the aristocratic flats along the Marine Drive in Bombay City. They are intended for what we term "the working class". Professors in any of our Universities may well envy them. On the ground floor of these buildings are tastefully dressed up shop windows displaying common articles of everyday need. These shops are run by the Government or by Cooperatives and are well stocked. In none of the shop windows did I notice any toys implying violence such as toy soldiers, guns, or tanks. All were based on peaceful occupations, like instruments of agriculture.

Along the main roads, at prominent places, small round pillars, about 12 ft. high and about 4 ft. in diameter, were put up. The surface space was let out by the Municipality to bill stickers. While bringing in a small income to the Municipality, they prevented disfiguring the walls of other buildings. Cannot our city fathers take a lesson from this?

Means of communication were organised well. Buses were frequent and well maintained. Roads and pavements were clean. Electric posts, as in most places in Europe, were of wood. The weather was warm enough for men to be working barebodied. Children were running about barefooted. I am sorry to note I saw several cases of drunkenness. Is this a sign of economic recovery? There were hardly any cases of dire want. Still I did come across an organ-grinding blind man! (This, of course, is a kind of respectable begging even to be met with in prosperous Britain.)

West Berlin, on the other hand, displayed extremes as in capitalist countries. There were showy shop windows exhibiting expensive luxury articles, while the streets were full of ill-clad children as in old-time East London. The contrast was very striking.

At Dresden also there are no makeshift repairs. All renovations follow the original artistic and architectural plans and designs. I was struck with the great pains they were taking to replace damaged carved stone decorative statues and mythical figures on buildings with freshly carved new ones. This contrasted with our attempt in India to repair ancient temples with cement concrete plasters! This German thoroughness naturally makes the repair work slow. But it is worth the trouble taken.

The Hygiene Museum at Dresden sets up a model to follow in devotion and painstaking. No effort is spared in making the museum a centre to disseminate the latest knowledge in private and public hygiene.

There is a great movement to assimilate the minorities and absorb their culture. A notable effort in this direction I met with at Bautzen where the Serbians, who were greatly oppressed and were in imminent danger of extermination under the Nazis, were being fostered. These minorities, in their turn, are contributing richly in music, dancing, painting and other arts. In India, we may emulate this scheme in our efforts at rehabilitating the Harijan and other under-privileged classes. We cannot afford to keep these people as they are. Unless we absorb them into our general body there will always be class distinctions, however much we may strive to minimise the differences. Mere welfare schemes will not serve the purposes of absorption.

The rural areas of Germany are well laid out. Each village has a patch of pine and fir forest to supply the needed timber. Though there are tractor stations run by the Government to help the farmers, the plough horses and bullocks are much in evidence everywhere. These animals are hefty, well fed, well groomed and cared for.

A good deal of the agricultural works, especially in small farms, is done by bullocks or by horses. This may come as a surprise to many readers. At special seasons, like at harvest time, or when they expect sudden changes in the weather, machines may be hired by big farmers to get the work done quickly. Weeding and other such tasks are carried out by men and women. Most village houses have small flower gardens in front and a patch of vegetable garden at the back.

The people in East Germany seemed well satisfied, well-clothed, and well-fed. The river Elbe was covered with pleasure boats and holiday makers, and so also was the Spree. In spite of all their handicaps, the people seemed full of hope. They go about their work with indomitable courage, with undamped spirit and energy. A nation like that cannot be kept down long. I hope soon a United Germany will throw in its weight in organising the world for lasting peace.

CHAPTER VII

BERLIN'S WARNING

Berlin must have been a most beautiful city. It was among the leading five cities of the world. In the layout and architecture probably it had to share the honours only with Paris, if at all. Now little of all that is left. The palaces have been reduced to ashes. A good deal of the debris has not yet been cleared. Yet there are crowds of people. One wonders where they all come from.

In 1914, when Germany sent her zeppelins on to London and dropped those enormous bombs, it little realized that one day the whirlwind of destruction will sweep out its own abodes. All that one sees of the once beautiful city is just burnt out walls with the major portions crumbling down. The facades that still stand only declare the past glory. The destruction of human beings, men, women and, children, that must have taken place, has left no traces; but it is terrific to contemplate. Material destruction can be as nothing before this human loss and suffering. Under the Kaiser and under Hitler Germany had drawn the sword and now we bear witness as to what happens to those who lay their faith on the strength of arms.

In the first war Germany fell but rose again quickly, but after the second war her recovery has been pitiful, whatever the cause may be. Now there is a serious plan to help her on to her feet and let her arm herself to her teeth. Not only Germany but the whole world does not seem to have drawn any lessons from the past experience. The prospects are too terrible to contemplate.

The Americans with their satellite countries, are rapidly drawing in battle array against the Soviets. Had the last two global wars no lessons to teach us? Let not our second state be worse than the first.

Mr. Chester Bowles, the American Ambassador to India, believes that in the past armaments led to war and destruction, but he thinks God is going to deal with the U.S.A. differently. The course of history cannot be changed even to please Uncle Sam. At the moment America is arming herself to the teeth with the most deadly armaments. This looks as though her end is in sight. Let her beware.

August '52 & September '54 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

CHAPTER VIII

BULGARIA

To us one of the least known European countries is Bulgaria. It is within the Soviet Union but even today it remains largely an agricultural country. Hence its economy is of special interest to us.

Sofia is its capital city having a population of about eight lakhs out of the country's ten millions. Little war damage is to be noticed but whatever damage there was, has been taken advantage of to put up modern four-storied apartments for workers' families with plenty of open space between the buildings for children's play grounds and gardens.

Each group of such buildings has a medical clinic. The flats have two, three or four rooms each with kitchen and bath attached. I went into a flat. It was three-roomed and was occupied by a shoe-maker. The beds and sofa covers were clean and the house tidy and neat. His daughter, about 17 years of age was in and showed me round. She looked well dressed and happy. She was attending a polytechnic taking a five-year course in Hydraulic Engineering. Such students are supported by the State.

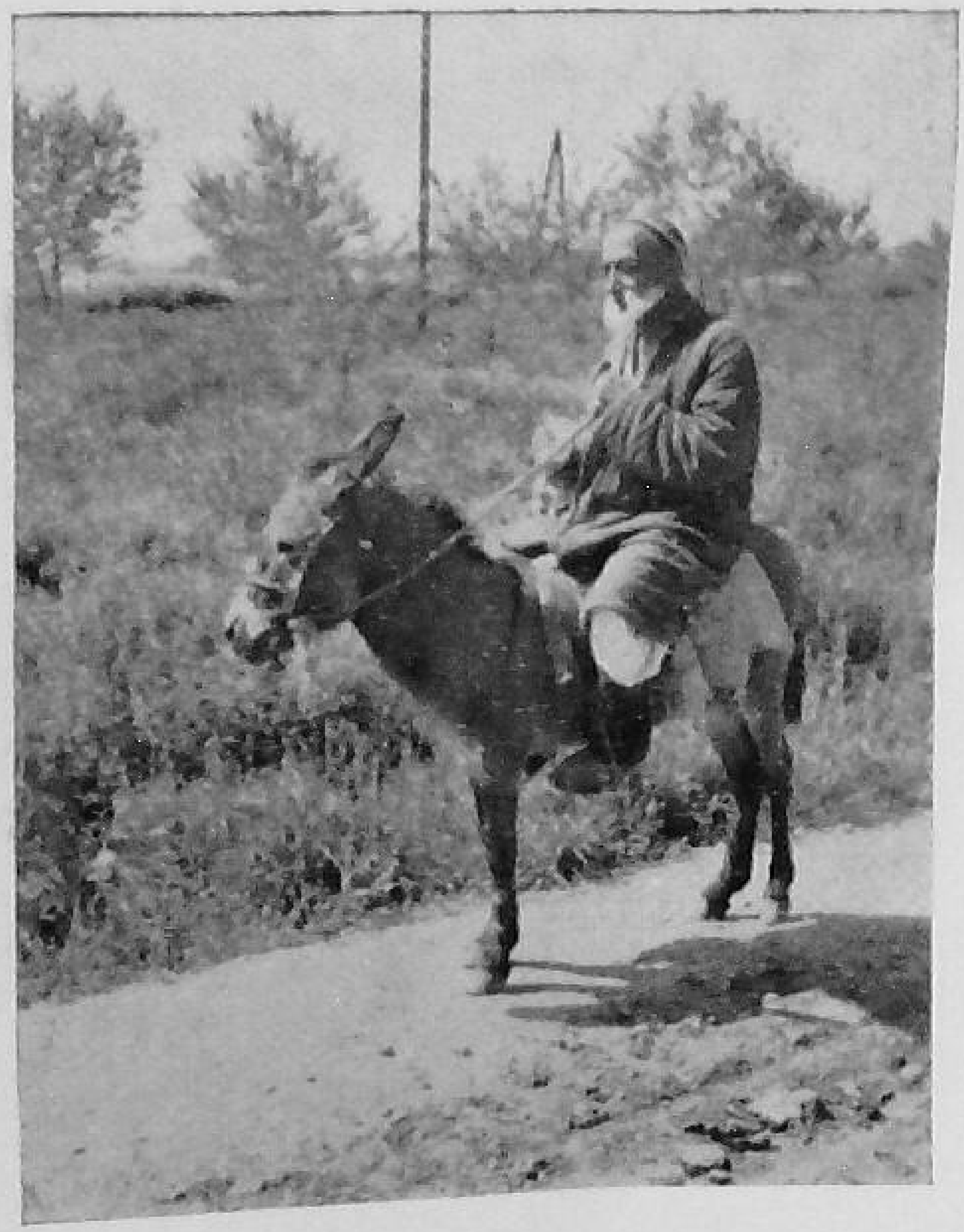
The city itself seemed prosperous though within a few miles of it much poverty was noticeable. The city streets were neatly laid out and were kept clean. In the centre was St. Sophia Cathedral well maintained and in excellent condition. The shops were stocked with consumer goods made in the other republics of the Soviet Union, especially in Czecho-slovakia and East Germany.

There were a large number of maternity dispensaries where about a third of the doctors were women while in the large hospitals about 70% of the doctors were women. The children's wards were full of toys, playthings and pictures. The public parks are studded with tennis-courts, swimming pools and well-equipped children's gardens.

The hills and dales of Bulgaria are covered with luxurious vegetation and are rich in mineral springs. The mineral waters of the different springs are bottled, like our Soda water, and are labelled with the chemical analysis of each. Hot springs have public baths built around them affording all kinds of facilities for bathers who are mostly workers with their families. A small charge is made for their use. In beauty spots they have children's holiday homes where children of workers, under seven years, are taken care of by well-trained personnel. Food, uniform and toys are supplied free and medical care is also provided.

Being in such beautiful surroundings the Bulgarians are picnic-minded and all along the road people are to be seen with knapsacks on their backs, walking or cycling. The people are Slavonic and their alphabet is like the Russian. They are musical and artistic. I attended a variety entertainment given by a military "ensemble". It was of a high order and consisted of folk songs and dances among other items. It displayed considerable talent and I was a little pained that young people of such creative artistic ability should have been drafted into a department for ruthless destruction.

A good many persons go about barefooted especially those working in the fields. On the whole the population seemed well fed and well cared for.



An Uzbecki farmer. The donkey is a common means of transport at Tashkent—Republic of Uzbeckistan.

(To face page 55)

Their old houses and churches are roofed with tiles, of the same pattern as our own country tiles, and many of the village houses are of mud. The old folks still ride on donkeys and commonly use donkey carts.

They carry on the agricultural work largely with bullocks and buffaloes. Their bullock-carts have iron tyres. Their superannuated cattle—mostly skin and bones—are sent to slaughter. Apart from food crops, Bulgaria supplies large quantities of tobacco to the republics of the Soviet Union. Their largest export trade is in the essential oil of roses, and this is with the U.S.A. There are a large number of co-operative farms run on the Soviet model. Women attend to much of the agricultural work. They carry water in vessels balanced on poles on their shoulders, like our "kavadi". They tend animals, drive carts and carry heavy loads.

There are a good many gypsies wandering about in poverty, undertaking odd jobs. The old palatial residences of the erstwhile aristocrats have been converted into libraries, museums and rest homes for workers. The old time haunts of the elite on the Black Sea are now serving as health homes for the common folk.

The railways are slow. The platforms are clear of any vendors and hence are clean and quiet. Any little catering is taken care of at the stalls. Coal is transported in bullock-carts.

Their textile industry is organised on co-operative lines. One co-operative spins the yarn, another weaves it into cloth and a third makes readymade clothing like shirts, pyjamas etc. The finished articles are sold at the Government Co-operative Stores at prices fixed by the Government.

There is much that we can learn from Bulgaria. Though also an agricultural country, they are much better off than we are because of their better organisation.

September 1954 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

BULGARIA—AS A MODEL

The general policy followed by the State appears to be that of a worker-centred economy reinforced by a self-sufficient agricultural organisation in which cattle and other animals play a very important part. All the resources of the country and the power vested in the State are being used for the welfare of the masses of the people.

Like many another European country Bulgaria has suffered heavily during the war though not as badly as Germany. I have been able to compare the old residences and public buildings still left, with the new ones put up. Advantage has been taken to modernise dwellings for workers and to equip them with the latest conveniences. The pleasure resorts of the old aristocracy have been reconditioned into workers' health resorts and public places into museums and libraries.

Bulgaria abounds in natural beauty spots, mineral springs and sea-side resorts. These have been taken advantage of and well laid out swimming pools, sports stadium, play-grounds, etc. have been provided there to add to the enjoyment of the worker and his family.

On the material side, I found, the workers were well dressed and adequately supplied with all kinds of food and prime necessities. Bulgaria is trying to industrialise but still remains an agricultural country primarily. In the country-side, I noticed everywhere signs of steadily rising economic prosperity. Compa-

ratively modern houses were springing up on all sides. These were of brick and tiles, and fitted with modern conveniences in many places.

Good deeds should not stop with ourselves but should be reflected in our attitude towards our neighbours. I was greatly pleased to see that about 300 orphans and homeless Korean children were being taken care of at the mineral spring resort, Bankia, within about 18 kilometers of Sofia. These children seemed very happy and lively and almost forgetful of the terrible tragedy that had befallen them. They attended the regular Bulgarian schools. This was a heartening sight. It is such neighbourly kindness that will lead to world peace.

I met a large number of intractable gypsies, poorly clad and housed. But generally these nomadic people refuse to submit to domestication. Yet I came across some who were leading members of orchestras. If man can tame tigers and lions why not our fellow creatures? I humbly submit that strenuous efforts should be made to make them contribute their undoubtable talents towards the progress of humanity. Such efforts will not only enrich Bulgarian culture but also the rest of humanity.

May I add how grateful I am to the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries for giving me this opportunity of studying from close quarters the efforts of Bulgaria to reconstruct itself. I found much that my own country, India, can learn from it. This type of close contact between various countries will be one of the sure methods of ushering in World Peace. My best wishes to the people of Bulgaria.

(*Broadcast from Sofia*)

PRINCIPAL,
GANDHIGRAM,
....
EXTENSION TRAINING CENTRE,

PART IV

OUR APPROACH TO PEACE

CHAPTER IX

DHARMA*

As we are meeting here to explore all ways and means of attaining world peace, I wish to place before you for your consideration the methods worked out in India by Mahatma Gandhi and his analysis of the reasons for friction among nations and the way to smoothen international relations.

The philosophy of non-violence and truth of Gandhiji has its deep roots in the way of life developed over thousands of years by the Hindus to lead us to peace. Hence to understand the Gandhian way to peace it is necessary to remind ourselves of this ancient background.

They held Truth as God and "Dharma" as the purpose of existence of man. Nay, each creature—sentient and insentient—has its own Dharma. The Dharma of man is to express himself in peace. "Dharma" is neither Religion nor Duty as is often indifferently translated. These latter are but expressions of Dharma but not all of it. Just as to produce flowers is the nature of the rose plant and to exude fragrance is of the very nature of the rose, so should the production of peace be the very existence of man. We may say flowering is the "Dharma" of the rose and peace is the "Dharma" of man. Anything that produces conflict is "Adharma".

Modern philosophy of life has turned man into an economic animal. It has made production of goods the "Dharma" of man. This is a degradation of the

*Summary of a Speech delivered before the World Congress for Peace at Vienna on the 13th December 1952.

mission in life of man. We may say, if we choose, that the "Dharma" of the machine is to produce goods. But man is something nobler. Life does not consist in the abundance of things we possess. Man does not live by bread alone and much less by unwanted things made into necessities by artificial pressure of salesmanship and advertising. Thus has man fallen from his Dharma and has brought conflict into the world of humanity by introducing false values and priorities. If we wish to restore peace we have to reorientate our own lives. This may involve foregoing many material things which we have come to regard as essentials. In the restoration of Dharma lies the hope of World Peace.

The Dharma of the strong is the protection of the weak. The all-powerful America, fighting small nations like Korea, is Adharma. It belongs to the animal kingdom. The Dharma of the tiger may be to kill, but not that of man. We have to diagnose this virus of poison that has entered human life and has produced this phenomenon of nation warring against nation and man's personality being buried under the mountain of consumer goods. This finally leads man to seek a way out by blowing up this mountain by a ceaseless activity of producing instruments of destruction. To a cool thinker production of the atom bomb would seem the height of midsummer madness and what shall we say of hydrogen bombs and germ warfare! Man has thus fallen from his Dharma and wandered into the jungle of violence. Hence it is necessary to restore the values that make for human development and fuller expression of personality. To do this was Gandhiji's search for Truth and the Non-violent way of life.

The malady the world is suffering from to-day is mainly due to economic factors. We have forgotten

the end of man in life and are running after things that do not matter. In the few minutes at our disposal I shall attempt an analysis of the situation from a practical point of view and see how we can remedy it and implement the suggestions.

If the way of Dharma leads to peace then any act that is Adharma will lead to violence. These global conflicts are not isolated incidents. They are the culminations of innumerable small acts performed daily by simple people innocently. Though the responsibility for wars may immediately be placed on some leaders, yet the real causes can be traced to our daily acts. For instance, city people buy milk without asking whether the calf has been fed or the children of the milkman have had their quota. When the milk we buy is not a surplus but has been squeezed out of the mouths of calves and children with prior claims, our acts are Adharmic and we create violence, which when accumulated, breaks out into world catastrophes. Hence, we see, the real remedy lies in the consumer being closely associated with the producer and the distributor. This means decentralization of production and a move towards self-sufficiency. This has been Gandhiji's suggestion for banishing the causes of wars.

On the production side to-day, the goods are turned out on a mass scale with standardised methods, from raw materials secured from the ends of the earth from under-developed people. All this is Adharmic.

Similarly, distribution has no natural urge but is stimulated by all manner of salesmanship leading to the creation of artificial multiplicity of wants. This again is adharmic and leads to violence.

The pattern of consumption has no relation to real needs of the consumer, nor is it related one to another nor based on any priorities. The consumer pattern is calculated to subserve the needs of the large-scale producer and distributor. Hence, periodic explosions are called for to set the system on proper lines. These again lead to wars.

As long as the capitalistic and imperialistic interests persist and production follows centralized and standardised methods, wars will form an integral part of human life and no amount of petitions and protests will bring about lasting peace.

Because of these underlying causes the atmosphere is surcharged with a fear of acquisitive interests being upset by a spreading sense of social justice. The American block represents private property and individual profits, while Russia, China and associated countries stand for social justice. The handful of American vested interests desire to stop the evergrowing consciousness of the masses for a square deal. Here is the world situation in a nutshell. America attempts to cordon off the awakening of the masses along the political line starting from Korea, China, Burma, India, Iran, Jardonia etc. going on to West Germany. To this end the U.S.A. is moving heaven and earth to get a foothold in all these countries by fair means or foul, by wars, by finance, by pretended social service, goodwill etc. Let us be awake to the dangers around us and be forewarned.

What then is the remedy? The causes themselves suggest the way out. We have already seen that Gandhiji had suggested self-sufficiency and decentralization of production.

Russia is working out the first by the Government taking over her foreign trade and by producing most of her needs within her borders. This is a healthy move. But they are still adhering to centralized methods of production which is also basically a cause of conflict as we diagnose the situation.

The American way is heading directly towards international conflicts all along the line and their ultimate interest is financial. If we aim at permanence, we should call a halt and resort to methods which are Dharmic. Here also Gandhiji had indicated the way of non-violent non-co-operation with the offender which may finally result in the launching of a Satyagraha Movement.

In the economic field this will result in a boycott of all trade transactions with the offender thus isolating him from the rest of human society. If we apply this sanction all nations should stop dealing in American goods. For instance, India is flooded with American goods of all kinds—automobiles, petrol, electrical goods, fountain pens, drugs, cosmetics and all kinds of consumer goods. If an embargo is placed on these it will bring the Government of the U. S. A. to its senses quickly.

In this Congress over seventy nations are represented. If all these countries decide on one common course of action it cannot be long before the U. S. A. authorities can be called to order. On the other hand, a mere threat of armed might will only challenge them to a greater and more rapid production of armaments. This may even be an attraction to the manufacturers and "merchants of death" as an opportunity for acquiring greater wealth.

This course of action, based on self-sufficiency and Swadeshi, brings promotion of World Peace within the reach of every single one of us. We need not feel helpless before the great ones of the earth. Everyone can contribute his mite. This is a great privilege and a responsibility. It calls for self-control and sacrifice in the cause of peace. Are we prepared to shoulder our share of work?

All this is based on the assumption that we shall have enough basic character to organize each nation into behaving in co-operation with the rest of the world on a high level of moral and spiritual standards. The education of the children must be recast to enable us to raise a nation of stalwarts, who will depend on character rather than armaments to maintain peace. Only such peaceful relations, founded on co-operation, understanding and goodwill will lead us to lasting peace.

In such a world there can be no exploitation of the weak by the strong, oppression of the under-developed by the highly organized, or overpowering of the small by the mighty. Such human relation alone can lead to peace on earth and goodwill towards man.

January 1953 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

CHAPTER X

SARVODAYA AND WORLD PEACE *

In the past, wars were confined to belligerent individuals either for territorial acquisition, personal glory, revenge or for loot. Their own mercenary troops fought and conquered or destroyed themselves. To-day, the conflicts are extended to the common population of non-combatants—men, women and children—to whole nations. These are whipped up into a frenzy of envy, jealousy and hatred and indiscriminately destroyed by weapons of wholesale destruction which once let loose cannot be controlled. It is, therefore, imperative that each one of us should study the causes of war and the conditions which will bring us peace and work relentlessly for peace.

Until now the more powerful have controlled the comparatively weak nations politically and economically and exploited these for their own benefit—keeping the latter undeveloped or under-developed. This cannot last any longer. Each nation should go forward without external interference. Any nation that goes beyond the needs of a Police force or is found within the territorial waters of another nation, with its armed forces, must be dubbed an aggressor and all others should help to oust such an aggressor back into its own domain.

Paper agreements and appeals have little effect in bringing about lasting peace. The seed of war and international tension lies largely in the field of economics. So, if we want to deal effectively with war

*A summary of speeches delivered at Paris, Stockholm and Berlin in the months of June and July 1954

we must study the present-day methods of production, distribution and consumption. War is the end-result of the friction generated in the daily life of everyone of us, and is not the result of the evil doings of one or two outstanding world figures. If anything, such world figures are but the victims of our greed to benefit from the weak position of our neighbours.

By nature most of our countries are blessed with resources which if we handle in a proper and rational way, we shall generate peaceful living for all of us. It is the attempt of the more powerful to turn conditions in their own favour, that brings nations into conflict and turns our neighbours into enemies.

Resources :-

The least that each nation can do is to aim at being able to provide its people with food, clothing and shelter. After that, if any resources of land, water and minerals are available, we may enter into trade and commerce by attempting to supply the demands of luxury and enter into foreign exchange of goods. Any maladjustments and misdirections lead us into trouble.

For instance, Indo-China produces nearly 85% of the world's supply of rubber. But it cannot by any stretch of imagination, use all this production. Most of the highly developed and industrial countries need such raw materials. How can they get at this basic need? Only by controlling the direction and production of this material. To do this the foreigners attempt to get hold of the country. This is the basis of all colonialism. The people of Indo-China, instead of producing so much rubber, should lay stress on the production of materials for their own food, clothing and shelter and promote primarily industries conductive to

Wooden Telegraph and Telephone posts are used. To prevent their being destroyed by White Ants they are mounted on steel railings buried in the earth, about a foot of the railing is under snow. This picture was taken in the outskirts of Moscow. *(To face page 68)*

such an economy. Only such direction of their economic life will bring contentment for the large masses of their people.

Similarly, Ceylon produces chiefly tea and rubber. What can be done with such an economy? Ceylon is an island. It can be easily controlled by a naval power and made to surrender its economic life to the needs of the foreign manufacturers as it imports all its requirements of cotton yarn and most of its food. Whatever wealth is made by its trade remains mainly in the hands of the exporters and importers and leaves the country in insecurity as people cannot eat the rubber or clothe themselves in tea-leaves if the island were surrounded by interested parties. Hence, their safety lies in moulding their economic life to suit their national requirements.

Treasures in an open house tempt the passer-by. If we do not wish robbers to visit our houses we must keep our doors closed. Our natural resources are our patrimony. Manchuria has a wealth of coal. It was this attraction that made Japan conquer Manchuria. We should plan our mining operations according to our needs and not trade on it. When our hidden treasures get exhausted it leads to violence. As far as possible we must live within our own resources and conserve them for our future generations. It is the extravagant use and exploitation of petrol that is driving America to seek violently other fields in Transjordan, Iran and Borneo. That has made her a belligerent nation. For this we need long-term planning.

Employment:

Every raw material presents opportunities of employment. The export of raw materials, therefore,

deprives the locality producing the raw material, of possible employment. For this reason, as a rule, the people of the locality must work on the raw materials available and should be paid adequately. Then there will be no "under-developed" countries, for every country will engage itself in producing all the goods it needs that can be made out of its own raw materials, and exchange its surplus for other articles, it cannot otherwise obtain.

Method of Production :

Thus far we have seen how to utilise our resources. Now we must consider how we should proceed to convert our raw materials into consumer goods, especially in under-developed countries. Most of the countries of Asia are under-developed. They all represent an enormous labour power which is largely unused or under-employed. This indicates, that, as far as possible, we should avail ourselves of this power. In the first instance at least this does not call for 'labour-saving' devices, but methods of production involving increasing labour forces. In this way, we shall be able to bring satisfaction to everyone of this neglected section of people.

Wages :

The amount of returns to be paid to our worker must be based on what is needed to maintain him or her on a full diet and on a reasonable and suitable standard of living. At present, in capitalist countries especially, the price of commodities controls wages. Wages are largely an elastic factor—the higher the market price and profit, the better will be the wages. It should not be so at the basic wage level. The elastic element is in the nature of a profit and so should not be brought into the equation at the wage level. Basi-

cally workers should be paid what is needed to maintain them throughout the year.

In India, our landless labour has work mostly during the monsoon or rainy seasons and then at a very low starvation level. They should be paid enough to maintain them throughout the year on a reasonable standard. This will immediately put up the prices of agricultural products, which will lead to a better distribution of wealth and satisfaction.

Dissatisfaction is one of the fertile seeds of conflict.

Cost to the Producer:

In the so-called "under-developed" countries the producer of primary products rarely gets a square deal. Every producer is entitled to have his upkeep included in the price of the finished product. If anything less is recovered for the producer from the consumer's price, there results violence through exploitation. This multiplied, results in dissatisfaction and wars.

In our country, the landless labourers are starving, because the prices of raw materials do not provide for their adequate maintenance. If they did, the prices would rise. Are we, as consumers, prepared to pay honestly for what we get?

Prices, to be fair, should be regulated by the producers and others concerned. For this purpose, at present there is no adequate organization, with the consequence that what is due to the primary producer, who is the weakest number on the line, is cut down to a minimum.

Place of Agriculture:

Agriculture should not be treated as an industry and should not exist on the price mechanism. We all

know the scandals caused by burning a good harvest of wheat, to raise the prices, by reducing the stock. Such acts must be regarded as utterly anti-social and dealt with accordingly.

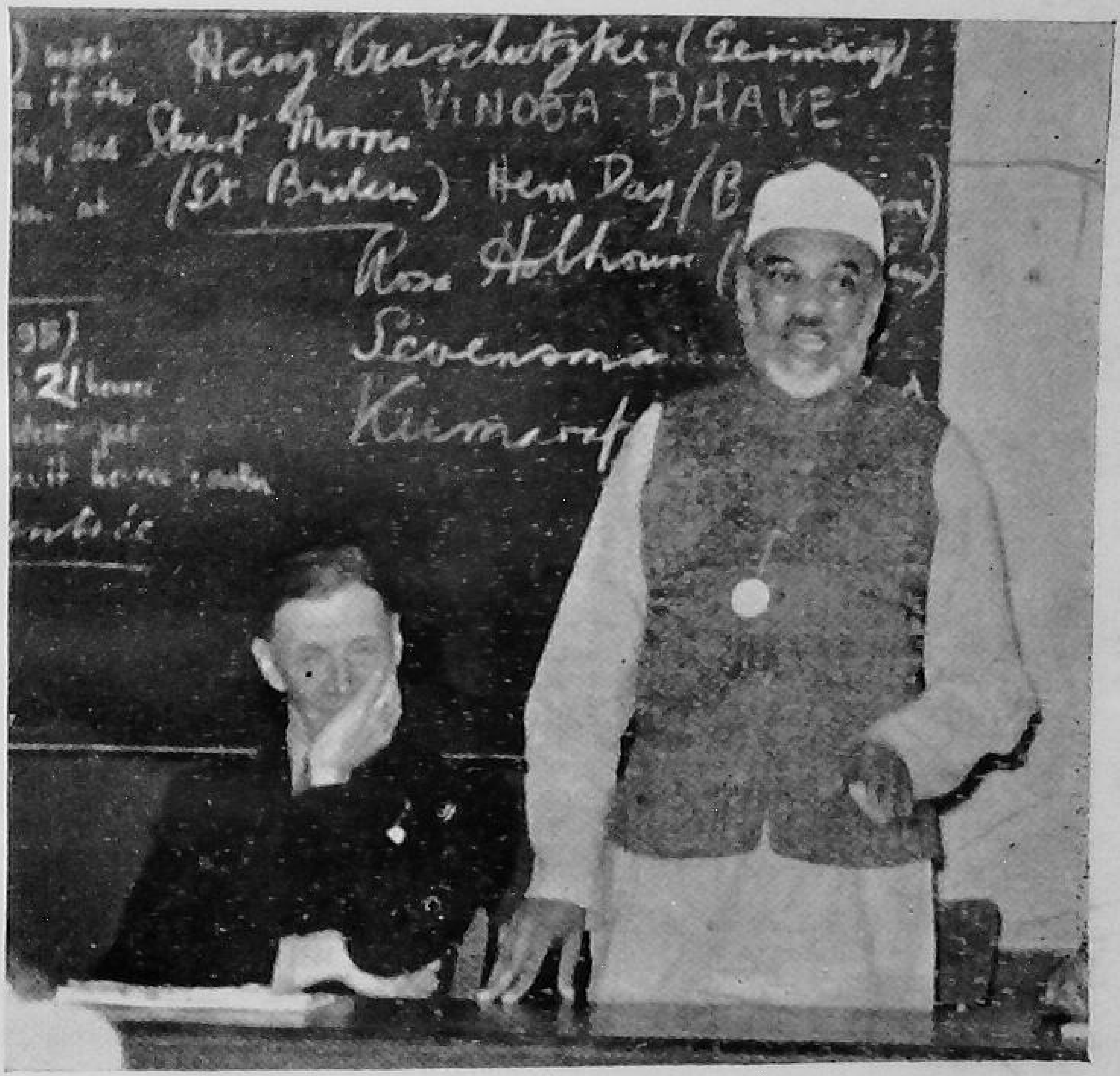
In certain quarters in the West there is much appreciation of the Bhoodan Movement but the spirit of it remains untranslated into action as they have not yet found the counterpart of it in industrialised countries. They express their sympathy but have no land to donate! A programme like Bhoodan need not be copied in all its entirety. What is essential is to give vent to the spirit of sharing.

In the West, the machinery for sharing exists but it is brought into play from the wrong end and so has resulted in exploitation and violence. What is wanted is to adapt this machinery for sharing in such a way that it will generate non-violence.

This machinery for sharing, as developed in the West, has three parts. The first is the price mechanism, the second labour unions and the third, propaganda, advertisement and high pressure salesmanship. All these are now used to exploit and exact an undue share of material wealth for oneself. If the same machinery is put on the reverse gear it can be used for sharing, so as to promote non-violence and social harmony.

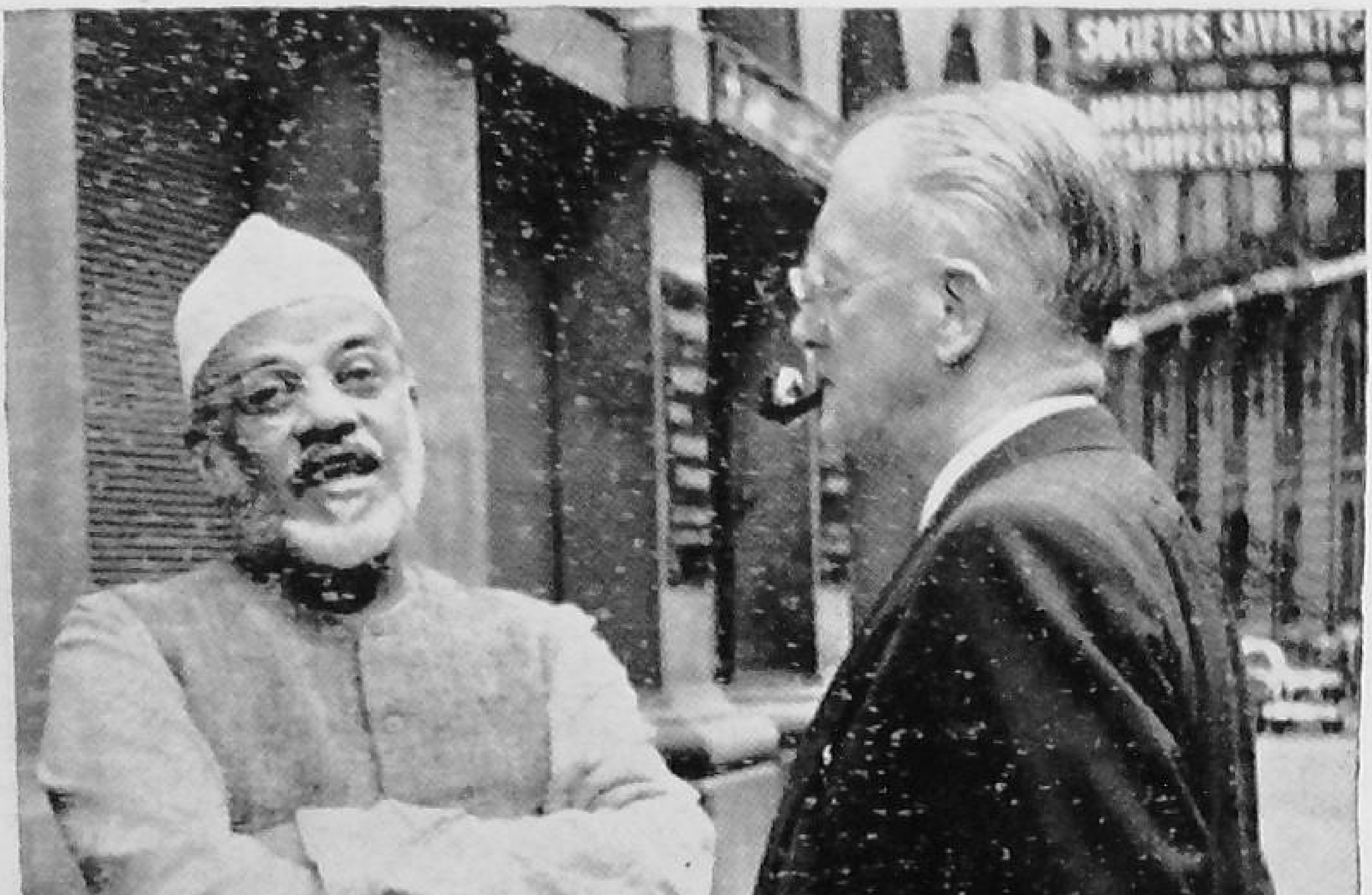
Price Mechanism :

Middlemen fix prices with a view to increasing customers. By a larger turnover and a low price they hope to increase their own gains. Consequently they cut down the share of the price that should go to the primary producer and leave him with hardly enough to support himself. In price fixing the producer of the



Speaking at the War Resisters' International Cultural Centre, Paris 1954. Horace Alexander (Britain) presiding.

(*Facing page 72*).



Lobbying Fenner Brockway, Labour M.P. (Britain). August 1954

(*Facing page 73*).

raw materials should have a voice. His share should be calculated on the basis of what he requires to maintain himself and his family all through the year on a reasonable standard of living. A great many primary producers, like the landless in India, are starving. Such a situation cannot be tolerated in an equalitarian society and if left unremedied for a long time will end in violence.

If the price includes enough for the raw material producer and if this extra has to be paid by the consumer, such price is bound to be high. So there will be fewer consumers involving a loss to middlemen. Consequently giving a due share to the raw material producer will entail a sacrifice on the part of both middlemen and consumers. This is the sharing that has to be accomplished through the price mechanism. At present, the less industrialised and under-developed countries are left at the mercy of highly industrialised countries and are being impoverished steadily. This situation also calls for justice and fair-play. Will the industrialised countries be prepared to part with their ill-gotten share ?

Labour Unions :

The function performed by labour unions to extract an increased share for labour, by collective bargaining, by organising strikes etc., is somewhat suicidal and is largely based on force and coercion. Such sharing should be brought about through voluntary means by mutual understanding and negotiation. Will the employers be reasonable enough to mete out justice and reduce their own share of profits ?

Propaganda, Advertisement and Salesmanship :

At present, various dubious methods are used in telling half truths and white lies to dupe the public by

advertising goods to be what they are not. Unwary customers are thus made to part with their purchasing power for unneeded goods or even for unwanted articles. Honesty has to be introduced in the place of high pressure salesmanship; and enslaving devices, like the part-payment system, should be abandoned if customers are to live within their means. This calls for vigilance and proper education of the public and national workers.

Dissemination of Information as to Cost:

To-day the consumer does not know what constituent items he is paying for in the price. He knows of a "fixed" price. This he pays and fully believes that he has discharged his duty honestly. If only the consumer knows that the price he is paying is not fair but is too low to give an adequate return to the producer, he himself will probably not be at peace. It is, therefore, our duty to make available to all concerned, full information as to the spread of the cost of an article.

If, for example, the smoker knew that the tobacco he smokes is produced under conditions which lead to the starvation of other people, his conscience will not allow him to patronise that brand of tobacco. We must bring this moral force into play in the economic sector.

To work out this programme we have to educate buyers, middle men and producers, who should organize the movement of goods rationally, and set up a strong machinery for the fixing of prices. Before undertaking all this we ourselves should be willing to make the necessary sacrifices.

If we organise the primary producer and the consumer by disseminating correct information regard-

ing articles put out for sale, it will go a long way in introducing, even in highly industrialized places, the spirit of Bhoodan, the spirit, namely, of sharing equitably the gains of industry. To serve in this way we need character and courage. This work is bound to create opposition from vested interests at least in the beginning. Are we ready to face the situation and abide by the consequences in the interests of a great cause?

By these means we shall be filling up also the gap that exists in wealth and opportunities between the so-called industrialized and the under-developed countries. Such a course will remove discontent and ease the tension which are the fruitful causes of war. It is only such fundamental reorganisation of our economic order that can bring in lasting peace. We cannot afford to lose time and effort on makeshift arrangements that will break down at the first approach of any stress or strain on the various component parties. This way is worth pursuing if we desire permanent peace. Are we prepared to pay the price?

Markets:

The goods we manufacture must have a ready and local market. Wars are caused by attempts to control markets. It was such competition that drove the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan into devastating wars. The under-developed countries supply raw materials to and consume finished products from the industrialised countries. This creates fertile beds for colonies. Every country should be allowed to develop in its own way, without let or hindrance from outsiders. Foreign interference suppresses independence and leads to violence.

International Trade in Surpluses only:

When goods are produced they should first be available to the producing country and only the surplus left over should be free for export to other countries.

Discriminating Consumption:

If collectively we are not able to bring about such non-interference, the citizens of under-developed countries should be so educated as to develop into discriminating buyers.

They should not buy foreign articles where locally manufactured goods are available. This is a difficult policy to practise because of the temptation of cheap prices and, perhaps, better goods being available from elsewhere. But such a development of character is absolutely essential for the production of peaceful conditions. We have to follow the tortoise in the economic field. We have to draw ourselves into our national shell for protection, when the danger of exploitation presents itself. This is the "Swadeshi" of non-violence.

Without studying this question minutely many persons are carried away by the talk of "world markets". To-day such a talk is dope meted out by the capitalist. The Soviet Union has set a good example in these matters by making foreign trade a state monopoly and by keeping foreign traders from entering the inside local market. These measures ensure better wages and living condition to workers.

I have, in passing, cited these illustrations to bring out in relief the deep-set causes of present-day colonialism which gives rise to the cause of war in the economic field. At present we witness the strange phenomenon

of science and human effort struggling to produce more and more goods and yet, in most countries, the results of all this effort do not seem to raise the people from poverty, starvation and distress. Of late, even human life is made very insecure and such existence as we can expect is made one of worry and care. The modern weapons of mass destruction cause nightmares throughout all the countries of the world. The present-day methods of warfare need little to condemn them. Apart from the general, moral and social considerations the economic consequences are forbidding. The war brought about by imperialism destroys more than the good it brings to its few beneficiaries. The masses of people have nothing but destruction to gain by the transaction—not only material destruction but what is worse, human demoralization and destruction. This one issue is in itself enough to condemn them.

Conclusion:

Hence, we see, a great deal of our effort to obtain freedom from world tension lies in recasting our economic organisation.

(1) The raw material producer must be given sufficient to maintain himself on a reasonable standard of living;

(2) Prices must be fixed with such as the base, and the raw material producer must have a voice in fixing the prices of his produce;

(3) Raw materials must be converted into consumer goods where the raw materials are produced, thus providing further opportunities of employment for the people of the locality;

(4) The consumer must be educated to realize his duties towards the producer, and for this purpose he should be supplied authentic information about the component parts of the price of articles; and

(5) Most international trade must be in surpluses.

Economic security and fair play is the foundation of goodwill. They alone will dispel suspicion, hatred and jealousy which disturb the peace of the world. Therefore, to bring about world peace, we have to find ways and means of liquidating the so-called "under-developed countries" and be prepared to share the good things of the world equitably. This will make a big call on the industrialized countries. Are they prepared to make this sacrifice? If not, all our efforts towards peace will be short-lived.

These points I have raised are only to urge that the Government of each country should follow the way which meets the needs of its common population with an eye to their comfort and well-being, rather than from considerations of material accumulation of wealth. Until we shift our view-point to meet the requirements of the people and re-organize our economy to produce commodities needed by the masses of the people by our own efforts leaving international trade as a residuary benefit, we shall not be able to bring about world peace. We have to rationally organize each of our countries for peace. Mere paper agreements with imperialist governments, however well meant, will not lead to a stable peace. Real and lasting peace can only be obtained when we are organized for it and when it is the outcome of our actions. Today war is definitely the result of our economic actions, similarly, by a change of approach we can and must live for permanent peace. This needs a great determination and much courage to accomplish. If all under-developed countries realise this and stand as one man, peace cannot be far off. May we all unite in this common purpose and live and die for the peace of the World.

PART V
SOME LESSONS FROM RUSSIA

CHAPTER XI
WHAT WE LEARN

When we look at the Soviet Union we have to be clear as to the point from which we view it and also the purpose for which we are searching for facts. As every body knows Miss Mayo came to look for the dirty things in India and she found them. We do not wish to repeat that sort of analysis of nations. I propose in this article to look at Russia from the point of view from which we may derive some benefit for ourselves. We can learn both from their failures and successes as an object lesson for our own country.

The Background :

In regard to comparisons we must also bear in mind that the starting point of various countries is different and their backgrounds have their roots in their own history. For instance, it will be wrong to compare Russia's standard of living with that of Great Britain, the United States of America or India. Great Britain has a background history of over 200 years of piracy and imperialism. Therefore, its wealth is based on an accumulated loot from all over the world. In the United States of America, we have a country of rich resources, freshly being exploited and within the last 3 decades it has also sucked to itself the wealth from Europe during the two world wars. India, on the other hand, has suffered under repeated conquests and foreign dominations. So all of these have their effect in their present standards we see in these countries.

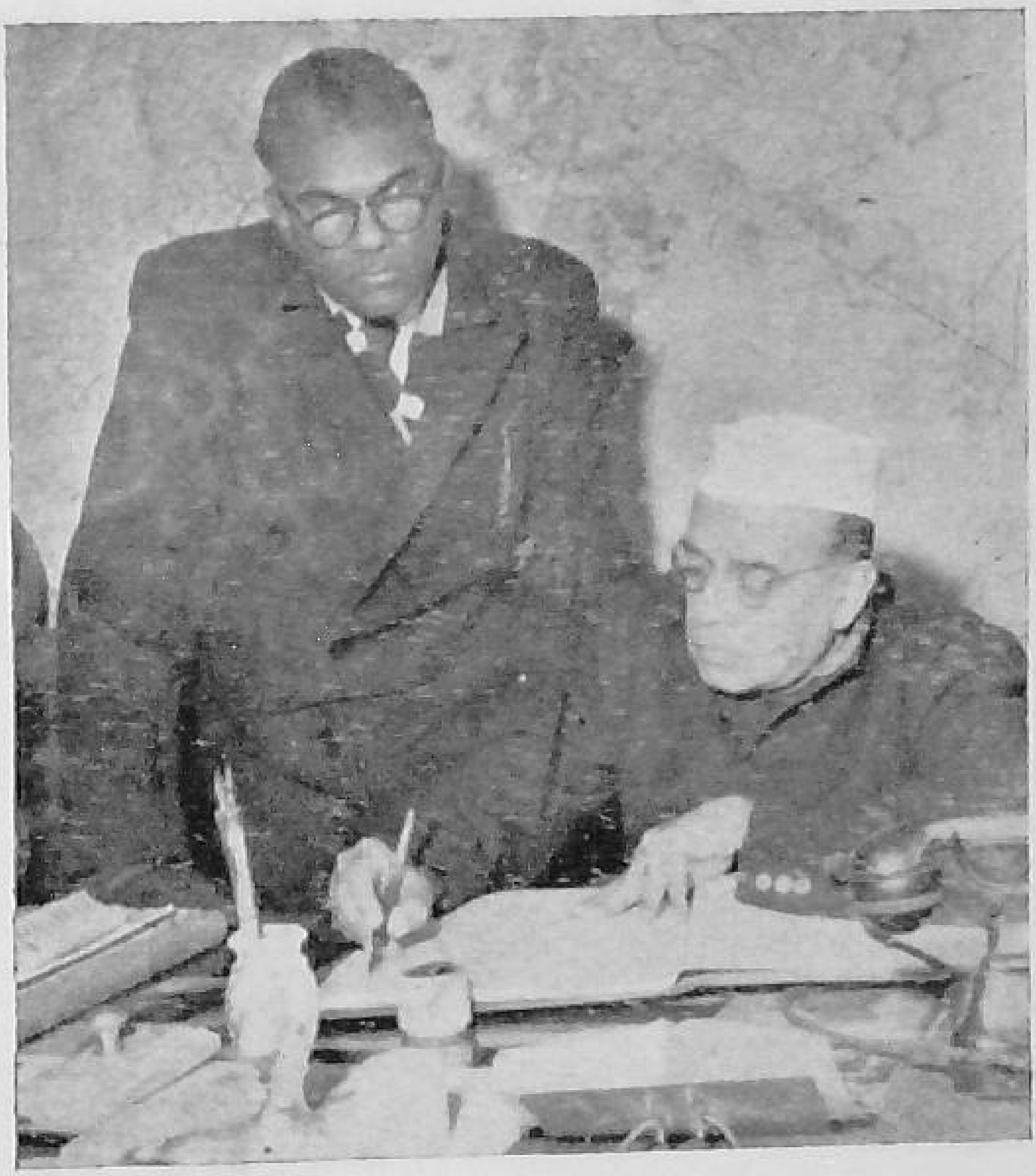
As compared with these, in Soviet Russia there has been the Czarist feudalism. The peasants had been ground down by a cruel aristocracy. This has resulted

in a bitterness between several classes and an eagerness to imitate the doings of the erstwhile overlords. Unless we make allowances for these historic starts and handicaps our calculations and conclusions are bound to be false.

Peasants all the world over are long suffering, hospitable, friendly and kind to strangers. In the Soviet Union there is no exception to this. Generally speaking the common people are extremely peace-loving and cordial in their relations to foreigners. Jealousy and suspicion carry the seed of war. These are not to be found amongst the common people. Fear at the Government level, is largely responsible for the Soviet attitude to the rest of the world. Here is a new country recently come into its own. They have every reason to safeguard their own reconstruction programme from ruthless interference from outside. Therefore, they are extremely careful as to whom they allow into their freshly built household. This will account for their attitude to foreigners, especially towards Great Britain, the United States of America, Germany and France. As far as the surrounding under-developed countries are concerned there is a praiseworthy neighbourliness and an eagerness to save these countries from the ferocious rapacity of the capitalistic countries.

Education:

Their educational programme is built up with the hope of bringing to fruition a completely literate nation from the start where literacy was practically unknown. With this end in view they are spending all that they can on the youth of the country. Their pioneer palaces, their schools and their universities are models of modern methods of teaching. Every teacher regards himself a great nation builder with a missionary zeal. No



Sri. J. C. Kumarappa signing the visitors' book, with Sri. S. B. Adithian looking on, at the Museum at Gori, in the Soviet Republic of Georgia.

(To face page 82)

expense is spared in making education attractive to children. Old aristocratic palaces have been converted into children's health homes, holiday resorts and organised exhibitions.

To keep up the ideal of the children from being poisoned by lust for blood, I found that their toys are all based on motifs which are based on peace-time occupations. In Western countries we find toy soldiers, toy guns and toy military equipments. In London, I found a boy of about five years old, holding out a toy gun against his sister, who was about eight, with a bag of sweets in her hand, saying to her "your bag or your life". Smilingly she gave him one. However pleasant this sort of hold-up fun may be, this sort of play creates the necessary background for violence. In the streets of Stockholm I also found girls of about seven or eight years of age holding in their hands toy cigarettes, the tips of which were coloured like cinder, pretending to inhale something and in great form letting out breath through their mouth from which the moisture condensed like smoke in the cold air. These are calculated to form bad habits in their very infancy.

Security and Welfare:

Generally, in the Soviets, the people are well looked after. They are provided with work which brings them not only enough to keep themselves in comfort but also gives them security for life. Their disabled and superannuated are given pensions and are well looked after in Rest Homes.

Their hospitals are well-equipped. About 75% of their doctors are women. Professions like medicine, teaching, art etc. are reserved for women and men are allowed only on sufferance. As it should be, in engineering trades and other occupations, naturally, men have

the preference. From the cradle to the grave the welfare of the common man is taken care of. The persons who need attention physically, educationally or socially are well looked after.

Backward Classes:

Where there are classes of people who had been formerly neglected and who had been regarded as backward people, these are being given special attention to bring up their standards of attainment, not as a patronage but to make it possible to absorb them into the general society.

Work, Wages and Employment:

As far as their economic life is concerned prices of articles are fixed by the Government in such a way as to ensure a fair return to maintain the requisite standard of living for the primary producers. The standard of living itself is fixed to enable every body to have modern comforts. It may not be as high as the standards in Britain or America. But we have already pointed out that there have been extraneous circumstances which have placed these countries in different categories. But we do not find limbless men with their hats in front collecting alms, as we do in the underground stations in Paris. Neither do we find men and women lolling about in luxurious cars in great numbers.

Work is given incentives other than financial. People are taught to find satisfaction in social considerations and take pleasure in the fineness of achievements. Men are given places of recognition in society, as labour heroes. These are all coveted honours much more potent than merely increased bank balances. To guarantee an adequate return from the work they do not allow foreign competition. Foreign trade is, therefore, kept as a well controlled monopoly of the State.

International Attitude :

I did not find the common people hankering for control over other countries, either for markets or for exploitation. On the whole it is but natural, because their reconstruction programme is so vast and considered urgent, that they would do all they can to prevent a conflagration which will upset their whole programme. We can learn from them a great many lessons on peaceful living ; but we must beware of the temptation of seeking a short cut through resorting to violence.

December 1954 *Gram Udyog Patrika.*

CHAPTER XII

SOME DOUBTS CLEARED

Question 1: Do you think that Russia or China have any expansionist designs on India or any other Asian country?

Ans: J.C.K.: Indeed No! Russia has no need to expand or invade any other country. Why, even in her own Asiatic republics, like Uzbekistan we visited on the Kashmir border, the USSR had granted the Muslim Nationals complete autonomy. I was surprised to see some Russian technicians working under the Uzbek management in factories, railways and other development projects. That does not look like Imperialism, does it? To-day Russia is forced to increase her defence forces to protect herself against U. S. aggression. Otherwise the overall Soviet motif is PEACE.

So far as China is concerned, there is still less cause to fear any expansion or imperialism. Particularly China is India's friendliest neighbour. So all talk of trouble for Asia, for China or Russia is pure scare-mongering.

Ques. 2: What are America's intentions towards India and the Asian countries?

Ans: America is a Capitalist and Imperialist country and, as such, seeks to dominate India and other Asian countries through her "aid". No country has ever flourished under American "aid". On the other hand, their position has become that of crippled children.

Ques. 3: How does Russian aid to other countries compare with American aid?

Ans: Russian aid to other countries is to send its technicians and machinery to build the industries etc.

of the countries concerned and, thereafter, leave these completely in the hands of the local people. American aid, on the contrary, amounts to complete infiltration and domination of the country aided by her, as we see in Marshalised Europe, Japan and other South-East Asian countries. Russia produces, trades and sells for peace. America is more concerned with war.

Ques. 4: What are your impressions of the Moscow Economic Conference?

Ans: I was reluctant to attend it in the first place because, from the Economic Conferences in India and other countries, I have attended, I felt that they served no useful purpose except to air the delegates' theoretical views. But I found that the Moscow Conference was not of this type. It was more of a trade conference of businessmen which made, surprisingly enough, a definite contribution to World Peace.

Its main purpose, as I see it, was to divert American and British attention and energy from the huge production of war materials to the production of producer and consumer goods. By entering world markets, Russia would compel the U. S. and the British to compete with her in supplying goods to under-developed countries and thereby cut down their production of destructive armaments. Against Western production for war and destruction, the USSR was advancing a new proposal of production for peace and reconstruction. Under-developed countries like India, therefore, have everything to gain from the Soviet plan.

Ques. 5: Is there any "Iron Curtain" in Russia?

Ans: It depends on the point of view. If a lion and a lamb are separated by iron bars, the lion may object to them, while the lamb is protected by them.

Russia has done well keeping out the American and the British competitors from their land. Indeed, India too needs such a curtain to keep Western Imperialists off her soil. The USSR is making bold and revolutionary socio-economic experiments and has every cause to fence itself off from attacks from Western freebooters.

Ques. 6: What are your impressions of Soviet Society?

Ans: The Soviet Government has succeeded remarkably in levelling down class differences between the leaders and the people. Their standards of living, modes of dress, even incomes, vary very little between the different strata. There are no Sahebs in Russia earning princely salaries, on one side, and common people existing on starvation wages, on the other.

Ques. 7: What is the range of income in the Soviet Union?

Ans: Between 6,000 roubles for artists, scientists and intellectuals and 600 roubles for unskilled workers, on the average. However, cultural workers like writers, painters, scientists are paid more handsomely and the top pay of some 20,000 roubles is drawn by the President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. A rouble is roughly the equivalent of one rupee.

Ques. 8: What is the standard of life in the Soviet Union?

Ans: People in Soviet Russia eat well and drink still better! They spend their earnings freely in buying, besides the necessities which are available in abundance, some things as books, paintings, porcelain, musical records, radios, cameras and other articles of cultural value. This they can afford to do because they get all

the medical and social services free which means an addition of at least 40 per cent to their basic incomes.

Ques. 9: What is the moral structure of the Soviet Society?

Ans: The family, of course, which is the foundation of Soviet Society, guarantees a sound moral structure. The Soviet family man, however high placed, is proud of his family. It is a pleasant sight to see in the streets of Soviet cities even bemedalled high-ranking Military officers going about with their children and babes-in-arms which never happens in snobbish, stiff-collared Western Society.

Ques. 10: Did you notice any moral laxity which is often attributed to Communist Society?

Ans: In the earlier days of the Revolution, there might have been cases of unavoidable laxity, but today family relations have been very much tightened. Even on such festive days like May Day, one sees groups of boys and girls in a hilarious mood in parks and gardens, but there is complete absence of promiscuity and 'desecration' of public places one can witness in New York or London. Marriages are encouraged and motherhood is rewarded. Indeed there is a sort of "Bachelor Tax" on unmarried people—below fifty, of course!

Ques. 11: Are there any beggars in Russia?

Ans: I did not see impecunious beggary in Russia as we have it in India, or in the West. In Moscow and Leningrad, I saw two aged women receiving some kopeks from the public, which probably was more by way of a supplement to their low pensions than a sign of destitution.

Ques. 12: Is there any war neurosis noticeable among Soviet citizens?

Ans: No. It is completely absent. Soviet citizens and children even do not know what fear is. Whereas an Indian child hides behind his mother's skirts and runs away at the approach of strangers, the Soviet child is full of curiosity about them, stares them in the face and even ventures to start a conversation. In Stalingrad, one child of about nine years approached me directly on the road and asked whether I had come "to cement peace"!

Ques. 13: What are the conditions of work in Russian factories?

Ans: Very good. I was particularly struck by the easy tempo at which they worked, which is in contrast to the high pressure, nerve-racking pace of workers in the U. S. and Britain. Yet, Russian production is as high as U. S. production, both in quality and quantity. In Russian factories, the human factor counts far more than mere productive capacity. If a worker is found unsatisfactory in a particular job he is sent to the Workers' Cultural centres to discover why it is so and in what particular job he might be better employed. In Western countries such a man would be declared a misfit and sacked.

Ques. 14: What is the greatest lesson India can learn from Russia?

Ans: We must learn to destroy the barriers which exist between the managerial and technical personnel and the workmen, as has been done in Russia. We must also level down the extreme disparity of incomes. The "Steel Curtain" which separates the classes in India, the rulers and the ruled, management and labour, landlord and peasant, must be totally abolished.

May 17, 1952 —"*Blitz*"

CHAPTER XIII

SOME MISREPRESENTATIONS

Under the title, 'A Report on Russia', William Randolph Hearst Jr. had contributed a series of articles based on a "three weeks' visit to Russia and several long, intensive conversations with the highest communist leaders." I have spent more than six times as long in Russia and allied countries. As regards facts my findings are much the same; but the interpretations I had placed on them and the conclusions I had arrived at are wide apart from that of Mr. Hearst. Hence, I venture to present, at least some of our differences in this note. I do not claim finality for my interpretations; but at a time like the present, when tensions are high, it is particularly important that we should be careful not to increase them unduly by rubbing people the wrong way. My approach was definitely influenced by my wanting to study the experiment of the Soviet Union to see what ideas and measures can be taken over in the re-organisation of our country. I am not concerned in sitting in judgment on others who may have environmental causes for the steps taken by them. I may add that if any comparisons ran in my mind it was with the picture of Czarist Russia as seen through the writings of Tolstoy and other Russian authors.

Handicap:

I did not think it fair to compare present Soviet Russia with the U. S. A. or the U. K. because these countries had a different start. The U. S. A. was a young pioneering country which later came in for an avalanche of fortuitous wealth from all over the world garnered during the two world wars. Britain made hay during centuries by piracy and imperialism. If they are

well off to-day there are holes in other peoples' pockets to account for it!

Violence:

From the point of view of Ahimsa—Non-violence—all three nations have their hands steeped in innocent human blood; U. S. A. and the U. K. with the blood of other nations, mostly of under-developed countries besides the slave history and lynchings, not to mention Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Korea and opium trade in China, while the violence of the U. S. S. R. was mostly directed against their own oppressors and exploiters. It is not, therefore, wise to throw stones at each other.

The wealth of the latter country has been obtained, in the first instance, from the disinherited aristocracy and later acquired by State capitalism of about three decades. Therefore, comparisons are odious between different countries and are not warranted. The pot cannot afford to call the kettle black! The less said, the better.

Mr. Hearst is welcome to his conviction but we need not subscribe to them as we do not presume to sit in judgment.

The Tour:

He complains of "Red Carpet" treatment, being shown round their 'show places'. Is this not what is done elsewhere, especially when time is a factor to contend with? Do we not direct our visitors to see the Taj, Kashmir Valley, Madurai Temple etc. These are what we are proud of and we wish to share them with the honoured guests. It is natural and highly commendable. Will visitors to London be taken to the sweated labour shops or to the East London slums? We too

"did" Moscow, Stalin Motor Works, Lenin Library, Stalin Museum, the Royal palaces of Leningrad, Cultural and Pioneer Palaces, their great five-river canals and hospitals. We did see some modern workers' quarters as they would have them and have built them, especially along Stalin Alley. We wanted to see their great achievements. We did not expect to be shown the gutters! It is extremely unfair to compare the American factory workers' conditions with those of Russian workers. After all, the starving masses in the under-developed countries owe their deplorable state to imperialistic exploitation. Can any American be proud of the conditions of living of such people?

Prices:

Mr. Hearst complains of prices being high in Russia. From this he concludes commodities are scarce. He has evidently not gone into the question of prices and the working of the medium of Exchange. The rouble has been sterilised as a cumulative agent of purchasing power. It functions more or less like a coupon. You have to get commodities in exchange for it as soon as possible. So people are eager to buy. The queues in front of shops mean that these shops, which are run by the Government, are too few to adequately cater to the people and not that there is a struggle for goods which are in plenty. He is, however, right in noting that the wares are not of a high order. At the moment the emphasis is on the medium utility goods. Quite naturally, in an equalitarian society, luxury goods will not find the needed demand especially when it is consciously planned that way. The finery worn by the New York top set is by no means an ideal.

There is a philosophy of life underlying the production and prices of consumer goods just as we

have behind Khadi. Khadi may be coarse or highly-priced, but we prefer it because of other social considerations which are beyond the understanding of critics like Mr. Hearst. The prices are kept high deliberately as they are intended to pay the producer a high enough wage to maintain him decently. Sweated labour can, of course, lower prices. If raw material producers in under-developed countries are paid prices fixed by the buyers, the finished products can well be priced low. This not being so, in Russia, prices of certain commodities have inevitably to be high though the quality is not of the first rate.

When we try to equate common needs in relation to income, we have to remember that a workers' salary in Russia is only a part of his remuneration. A shoe may cost one-tenth part of his monthly income. We may well consider it a high proportion, but we must remember that there is an unreckoned part of this income in the form of various services rendered by the State—Old age care, children's requirements, holiday provisions, health needs, maternity benefits etc. which will total upto a tidy figure. Security of life takes a good part of our life's provisions. This item does not figure so prominently with the Soviet worker and so the high prices do not mean so much to him. As we had pointed out money has to be in circulation and cannot be hoarded anyway.

Neighbourliness:

Mr. Hearst is struck by the friendliness of the men, women and children "in the street". The generally misunderstood 'hate' campaign is an artificial propaganda product and not natural. This was also our experience. This being so, it warns how wrong it is to foster hate, while friendliness is so natural. We

have to be careful, all the more, as to how we represent our neighbours who exist to many only on paper.

Conclusions:

This report, though factually truthful, will lead many a reader to have a false picture, because of erroneous comparisons and explanations. In times like ours, when misunderstandings are cropping up everywhere, we cannot be too careful in depicting life in other lands. I hope some of the readers at least would see that there is another side to the picture drawn by Mr. William Randolph Hearst Jr.

—*(From the " Hindustan Times ")*

APPENDIX I

VISIT TO SOVIET LAND

International Economists' Conference

(2nd April—6th May, 1952)

1952					
March	30.	Bombay.	D.	14.	
	31.	Zurich.	A.	9.40.	Simplon Hotel.
April	1.	,,	D.	13.43.	
	2.	Prague	A.	9.25.	
			D.	14.30.	
		Moscow.	A.	24.00.	
	16.	,,	D.		
	17.	Leningrad.	A.		
	18.	,,	D.	24.00.	
	19.	Moscow.	A.	12.00.	
	21.	,,	D.	6-30 a.m.	
		Tashkent.	A.	11.30 p.m.	(L.T. 2.30 a.m.)
	25.	Ferghana.			
	26.	Stalingrad.	A.	8.30 p.m.	
	28.	,,	D.	6.00 p.m.	
		Moscow.	A.	9.30 p.m.	
May	5.	,,	D.	5.10 a.m.	
		Tashkent.	A.	6.00 p.m.	
	6.	,,	D.	12.00 noon.	
		Kabul.	A.	4.00 p.m.	
	11.	,,	D.	9.45 p.m.	
		Ahmedabad.	A.	9.30 p.m.	
	12.	,,	D.	8.00 a.m.	
		Bombay.	A.		
		,,	D.		
	14.	Wardha.	A.		

42 days—8,000 miles.

APPENDIX II

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

Extraordinary Meeting

(Berlin, 1-5 July 1952)

1952			
July	1.	Bombay.	D.
	3.	2.30 a.m	Berlin A. Hotel Newa. World Peace Council.
	7.		Newheim. Seuftenberg.
	8.	11.30 a.m.	Libber-on-the-Spree.
		10.00 p.m.	Dresden, Hotel Astoria.
	11.	8.53 a.m.	Dresden Departure.
		12.50 p.m.	Prague. A. Hotel Aleron.
	12.	7.00 a.m.	Prague D.
		10.00 a.m.	Karlovy Vary A.
	13.	12.00 Mid.N.	Prague.
	16.	3.30 p.m.	Prague. D.
	15.	5.30 p.m.	Bombay. A.

14 days—500 miles.

APPENDIX III

VISIT TO RUSSIA

World Congress for Peace

(7th December 1952 to 25th January 1953)

1952				
December	7.	Bombay	D.	10.30 a.m.
		Karachi	A.	1.30 p.m.
	8.	,,	D.	4.00 a.m.

	8.	Paris	A.	10.00 p.m.	Hotel Lutelia, Boulevard Raspail.
	9.	,,	D.	12.30 p.m.	
		Zurich	A.	14.30	Hotel Mozart.
	10.	,,	D.	12.30	
		Vienna	A.	15.30	
	24.	,,	D.	11.30 a.m.	
		Budapest	A.	6.00 p.m.	
	26.	Moscow	A.	2.00 p.m.	Hotel Sovietsky.
1953 January	7.	,,	D.	5.00 a.m.	
		Tiblisi	A.	2.30 p.m.	
	8.	,,	D.	8.15 a.m.	
	9.	Kabulati	A.	8.45 a.m.	
		,,	D.	9.00 p.m.	
	10.	Gori	A.	7.30 a.m.	
		,,	D.	12.40	
		Tiblisi	A.	2 p.m.	
	12.	,,	D.	10.15 a.m.	
		Stalingrad	A.	3-30 p.m.	
	14.	,,	D.	11.30 a.m.	
		Moscow	A.	2.30 p.m.	
	15.	,,	D.	11.00 p.m.	
	16.	Leningrad	A.	11.40 a.m.	Hotel Astoria.
	17.	,,	D.	11.30 p.m.	
	18.	Moscow	A.	12.20 p.m.	
	21.	,,	D.	6.30 a.m.	
	24.	Vienna	A.	3.30 p.m.	
		,,	D.	1.00 p.m.	
	25.	Bombay	A.	8.00 p.m.	

14 days—7,500 miles.

APPENDIX IV

VISIT TO GERMANY, BULGARIA RUSSIA ETC.

World Council of Peace, International Peace Conference, and War Resisters International

(20th May 1954—20th August 1954)

1954 May	18.	Bombay	D.	11.00 p.m.	
	19.	Geneva	A.	17.40	Bristol Hotel.
	20.	,,	D.	6.45	
		Berlin	A.	21.00	Hotel Coburger Hof.
	29.	,,	D.	10.30 a.m.	Hotel Johannishof Berlin N 4.
		Dresden	A.	4.00 p.m.	
	31.	Loban			
June	1.	Bautzen			
	3.	Dresden		12.00 noon.	
	4.	Berlin			
	5.	,,	D.	8.00 a.m.	
		Sofia	A.	2.30 p.m.	
	10.	Plovdiv City.			
	11.	,,	D.	8.20 a.m.	
		Sofia	A.	12.15	
			D.	7.30	
	12.	Stalin	A.	9.20	
	15.	,,	D.	19.30	
	16.	Sofia	A.	8.45	
	17.	,,	D.	7.15	
		Prague	A.	15.15	Transit Hotel.
	19.	,,	D.	10.15	
		Stockholm	A.	20.25	Hotel Kristineberg.

	25.	Stockholm	D.	12.00 noon
		Copenhagen	A.	15.15
	27.	,,	D.	3.00 p.m.
		London	A.	6.00 p.m.
	30.	Glasgow		
July	3.	London		
	28.	,,	D.	8.00 a.m.
		Paris	A.	9.30 a.m.
August	3.	London	A.	11.00 p.m.
	5.	Southampton	D.	“ Willem Ruys ” Boat)
	19.	Colombo		
	20.	Kallupatti		

75 days—6,000 miles.

SECTION II : PEOPLE'S CHINA

1. The Journey, Canton, Peking, the Celebrations
2. Russia and China compared : Methods
3. Russian help, Democratic Dictatorship
4. Where are we ?
5. War and Peace
6. Production :—Land Reform, system of remuneration
7. Inflation
8. Education
9. Justice
10. Sarvodaya and Soviet Economics

Appendix—Itineraries

LIFE IN PEOPLES' CHINA

I left Delhi for Peking on September 20th, 1951 as a member of the Indian Goodwill Mission, to attend the first anniversary Celebrations of the Peoples' Republic of China and reached Hongkong on the 22nd evening *via* Rangoon and Bangkok. We were put up at the Sunning House Hotel. The service in the Indian Hotels was servile with an eye to tips. But the Chinese servants in Hongkong were cheerful, with a smile on their faces and held their heads erect as equals. The difference was striking. They were proud of their New China, welcomed us and behaved as though they were themselves our hosts!

The next morning I went out for a walk to see for myself what Hongkong was like in the poor section. I went to where I thought there would be filth and dirt, fish and meat bazaars and vegetable stalls. I was amazed. I did not see a fly or a crow or a kite—the well-recognised scavengers of dirt in the East. The streets were clean though the people were poor, some were even living on the pavements. There was no spitting or any other human refuse, nor smells except that of the natural dry fish etc. I have not seen a city as clean as this outside the West. Why, some parts of London may well take lessons from this city. This place is British, but the population is poor Chinese, whose living conditions are not much different from those on the pavements of our cities. We, too, have had Britishers managing our cities and yet the cities are filthy. Therefore, the difference must be looked for in the co-operation of the Chinese. In the evening we left by steamer for Canton. On this steamer, after nearly two days, we saw flies at tea-time, and my companions exclaimed, "Look, look, two flies!"

Canton :

The spirit of New China was evident on their Chinese boat. I had talks with the crew who were filled with enthusiasm. The Chief Steward, Lea Chea Ming, thought that unity was the chief feature of New China. He said, "Cantonese or Pekinese we do not care, China is all one. Everybody works and eats. In India, too, there should be no Punjab, no Bombay, no Madras. All India should be one. Only then all will be well and happy." When can we acquire this political wisdom? The more I saw of China the more I admired their national spirit.

Though Canton was poorer than Hongkong, its cleanliness was equally striking. There were no beggars, flies, crows or stray dogs. The streets were well swept. The traffic constables had their mouths and noses covered like surgeons at an operating theatre. The street traffic consisted largely of cycles, cycle-rickshaws and buses. There were some cars, but mostly these belonged to the State. There were no 'taxis' or private cars in evidence. There were no conspicuous rich, all were more or less alike. Canton also presented a festive appearance because of the artistic and colourful shop-signs in Chinese.

It is a big city, almost as large as Calcutta. There were no waste lands in it. Even in the city portion of it, all available space was cultivated. The Chinese are extremely industrious, unlike us. As I took a walk along the poor bye-lanes, everywhere I found mothers busy in the morning washing their children.

We visited Nau Fung, the People's University, which had about 5,000 students. The students here are given free boarding, lodging, tuition and clothes. It is

open to the poorest of the poor. The system is the same old regimented form of education. This is calculated to bring quick results but not lasting ones, it seemed to me. For character formation we need smaller units where the teachers and the taught come into close contact. Besides, village location would be preferable as it would add to the environmental contribution towards social outlook of the young.

To keep the city clean, they have formed units of ten houses. The residents of these houses are held responsible for the cleanliness of their surroundings.

The people were definitely poorer looking than at Hongkong. There were no painted lips or gaudy or expensive clothes, but the faces were full of hope and cheer. One missed the outstretched hand of the beggar that one met with even in Hongkong. All people looked alike, there being no marked difference outwardly between the rich and the poor or the classes and the masses. The way they went about indicated purposiveness and energy. Smoking and drinking in moderation seem to be universal among men and women. These are mild evils when we remember the opium-eating background forced on them by the British. They observe no *Purda* system.

Early in the mornings, as is my wont, I walked through the back streets, what we would call "conservancy lanes". There were overseers watching the tidying up. Everything was perfectly clean already. There had been no nuisance committed. The children were being washed or bathed and fed. They had mostly fish, meat and rice cakes for breakfast, which food was freshly cooked and put on sale at most street corners. Even at these eating stalls I noticed no dirt or flies.

The shops were stocked full of necessaries—shoes, soaps, tooth paste and austerity clothing. Chemicals were from the U. S. A. or the U. K. while the textiles were from Shanghai. All name boards of shops were in Chinese only. Prices were strictly fixed and marked on the goods.

While we were visiting the People's Public Swimming Bath in a newly made park, one of our members slowly fell back from the party and was moving towards the bushes. Our Chinese guide noticed this and asked me why this friend was lagging behind. I euphemistically suggested he may be looking out for a toilet. Immediately the guide ran after him and offered to take him to a toilet room. Our colleague said, "Don't bother, I shall finish my business behind some bush nearby." The guide replied, "Please don't. We don't allow such things in our New China." Here is a lesson for us.

Peking :

As there is no Air Mail or passenger service in China, the Chinese Government sent a plane from Peking to Canton to bring the whole of the Indian Goodwill Mission to the Capital. We took our sandwiches and aerated waters for the journey and reached Peking on the 26th September evening. The air-ports were but glorified huts, the runways were not concreted but only tarred. There was complete simplicity.

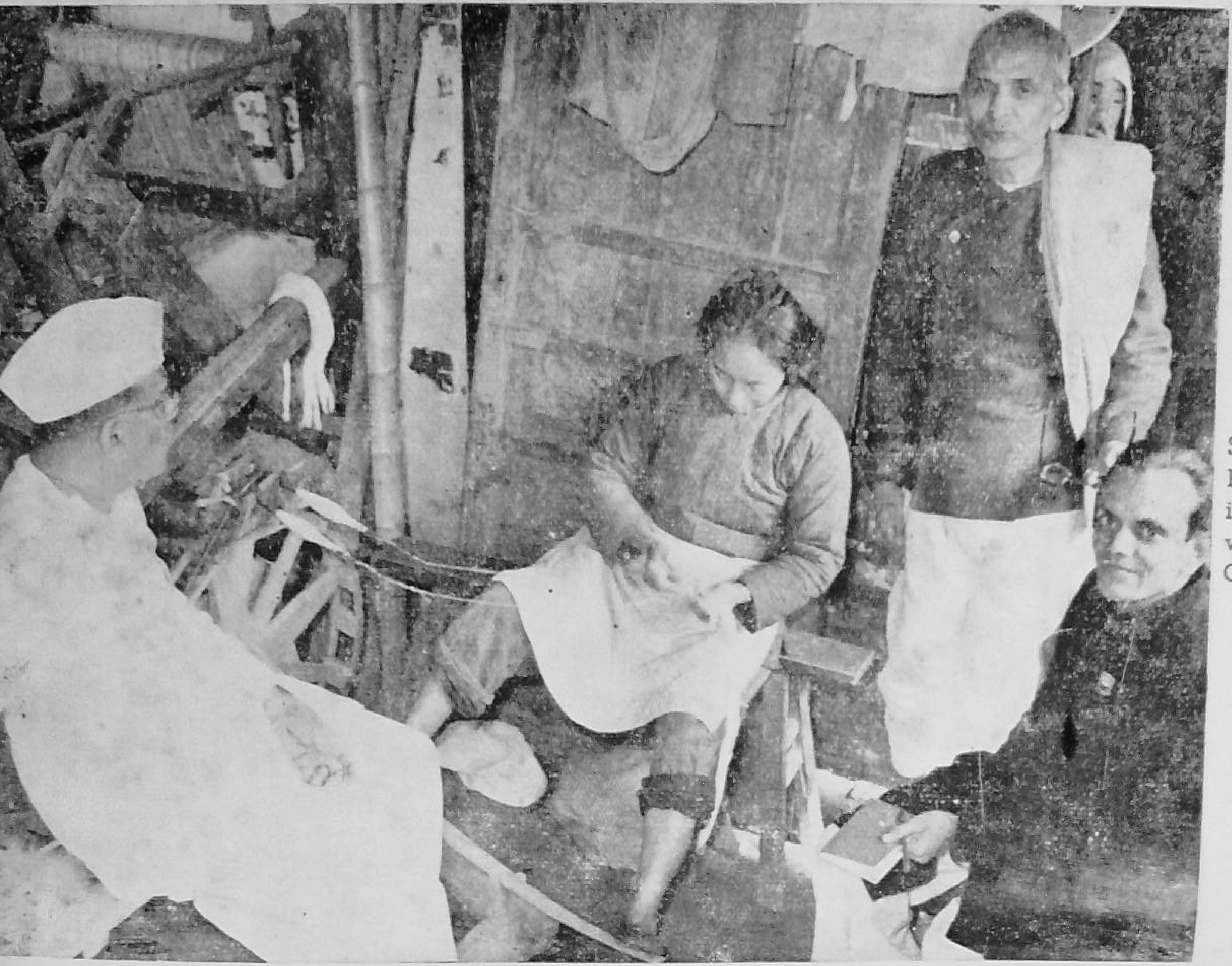
We were lodged at the "Peking Hotel". All these old time high class hotels, where "Dogs and Chinese" were not allowed formerly, have been converted into dormitories for volunteers and workers. A floor or so is kept reserved for State and honoured guests from afar. The hotels provide both European and Chinese style food.

followed emphasised large scale standardised production, while China has rightly started with placing the peasantry on their feet. They have widely distributed the land among the actual tillers and left them to manage their lands themselves. Even the rich peasants were left untouched.

The present attitude of the Chinese Government to private property, profit and private enterprise makes them anything but Communistic. Their Central Government, too, is not wholly composed of Communists but contains only 31 % of them. Hence, it is wholly wrong to call China "Communist" at present. There are newspapers in China especially in Shanghai, which represent other points of view. There is no doubt that the Communistic group is powerful and influential but they are not all.

China has drawn freely on Russian experience but has not followed the Soviets blindly. The Russian experts are there to help China where and when wanted, but do not boss the country as patrons or as superiors. Even Russian Military experts are under the Chinese Command. On the whole, China is solving her problems according to her lights rationally.

The Russian revolution was pivoted on the proletariat, while, China is rebuilding on the peasantry. The difference is not one of degree but in kind. The result is there is no Communism in China of the type we associate with the Soviet, and Russia is not as influential in moulding Chinese policies as we imagine. In many ways the Chinese revolution is a lesson to us. Even in the industrial sector, only the parasitic capitalist is liquidated while other industrialists are encouraged to carry on. Their way of solving their problems is very rational. In all their reforms they



In a Village near Shanghai, with Pandit Sundarlal, inspecting a loom with a three spindle Charkha attached.

(*Facing page 109*)

try to carry the common people with them. The Chinese are a marvellously practical people.

Method of Approach :

The Chinese method of bringing about Communism is very different from the Russian. Russia used violence to change straightway from imperialism to communism. They sent all their landlords and imperialistic families to Siberia and confiscated their property. This was followed by pure dictatorship. Russia believes in producing lots of materials because they think that such goods will increase the standard of living and the sorrows of the people will be thereby removed. Because of the belief in material advancement of the people, they took over the factories and started manufacturing on a large scale. Hence, they concentrated on what has come to be called " The Proletariat " and the Russian economic order came to be based on the proletariat.

China, on the other hand, wants to make the nation into a family giving to all prime needs of life like food, clothing and shelter. They think that these prime needs are necessary for the happiness and well-being of a family. And, therefore, China started with land reform, while Russia built on proletarian reform. Russia started building with the second storey, but China started with the foundation of the structure. They have dug deep for the foundation. Thus the organisation of Russia and the organisation of China are fundamentally different.

What the Chinese people, under the leadership of Mao, have done is that they have taken all the land into their hands and distributed it to those who actually till the soil. So at the present time the lands are in private hands and mostly in the hands of very small

farmers. Every man cultivates what he needs and what he wants. For the poor people there should be hope in this type of communism, wherein the whole community becomes one family.

Russian Help :

We are told that China is being largely influenced and run by Russia. That again is not true. In China, there are not many Russians. Such as are there, are there to help the Chinese. There are Russian Generals and Colonels to train the army. Such officers are completely under the Military Command of China.

China invited Russians as technicians just like India has invited Americans. Because we have Americans to help us in technical work, can it be said that we are under Americans? The Chinese are imitating neither Russian industries nor capitalistic industries. They want, first of all, to increase land production and find food and clothing for the poor people.

In Canton they banished prostitution in a few months by putting all the women concerned to productive occupations. The people took popular feeling at flood-tide which carried them over many difficulties. In our land the high tides created by Gandhiji were allowed to ebb away and it has left us in the mire high and dry.

Democratic Dictatorship :

To talk of "Communist China" is like styling India "Gandhian". We are aspiring to become "Gandhites". Similarly the Chinese are aspiring to become "Communists".

Where are We ?

The Chinese have not considered the use of a non-violent method. So they are yet a way off the

Gandhian route. In spite of it all, their burning patriotism is worth emulation and their attainments are praiseworthy. Their goal appears to me to be like that of Sarvodaya without the emphasis that we place on non-violence. Some of us stand aghast at the use of violence in the Chinese revolution. China has not forsworn violence, and all forms of Government do imply violence. We hope, in time, their leaders will come to realise that the violent way, though it may appear to be a short-cut, does not really solve any problem in the end. What a leadership it would have been for the world had they based their programme on non-violence !

We, in our turn, would do well to profit by China's experiments and achievements, and solve our problems as best suited to our conditions under the powerful flash light of Non-violence and Truth provided by Gandhiji, and wish China every success in her efforts to work out her own salvation.

The Russian novelist M. Ilya Ehrenburg, a top-ranking official propagandist for Soviet Russia, asked at an interview, why India, a country which is definitely a peace-loving country, does not take an important role in International Peace Conferences of Pacifist bodies. I replied to him as follows :—

War and Peace :

"Our approach is different in that our philosophy and national culture lead us to the reform of individual life. We diagnose war as a social disease caused by the violence in individuals, which, in the aggregate, leads to global outbursts. Therefore, dealing with wars as such is symptomatic treatment leaving out the real cause. Disarmament and treaties will not solve the problem finally. We feel that wars are an essential

concomitant of creating an artificial standard of wants and trying to meet them by centralised production. Such an artificial standard stimulates greed and jealousy and creates hatred between nations which ultimately culminates in war. Therefore, India's approach, especially under Gandhiji's inspiration is to work for permanent peace. But it is a long time programme affecting the very basis of economic life."

To this he replied, "When a murderer comes into the house to kill a child, will it not be the Gandhian way to save the child?"

I replied, I am afraid your analogy is faulty. We must deal with the cause. If the murderer is attracted to do his deed by something on the child—a piece of jewellery—then if we prevent one murderer, still others may be attracted. So the problem is not solved that way. Wars are like floods. Floods are the accumulation of little drops of rain water. We may build dams at great cost to control floods. Even then if the dams burst there will be great destruction. The proper way to control floods is at the stage of the rain drops. If we plough the land the rain drops are retained in the soil and fertilise the land. If we plant forests then also the rain water is not allowed to run away, but goes into the soil to be used as spring water later on. The land acts as a reservoir to restrain the water from forming destructive floods. Small erosion bunds also do the same. Such work is not spectacular but it is none the less effective for all that. Gandhiji's method is that of conserving the rain drops and utilizing them to good purpose rather than allowing them to accumulate into floods causing widespread distress. The Constructive Programme he has left behind is an enormous force for world peace, far more formidable than any appeals Peace Conferences can make. The

only difficulty is we are not willing to pay the price of leading a simple life. We live in such a way as will cause wars and then lift our holy hands in prayer to ask God to save us from war and destruction. Is this not mockery? We may have the short cut too. But it must be backed by the long-term plan of changing our lives to generate Peace."

Production:

The Chinese have an inborn sense of orderliness and a certain amount of discipline in them. Therefore, they find it easier to organise themselves. Though it is only about two years since the present Government has been in power, yet within these months, they have organised themselves well.

Land Reform:

They appear to have made a very realistic approach to the problem of Agrarian Reform. They have not blindly followed Soviet Russia but have learnt valuable lessons from the Russian experiment. There is no community ownership of land. Private property is the rule of the day but the use of land is strictly controlled by the State. Private profit, though strictly limited, is still the motive force and provided the needed incentive for production. Parasitic landlordism has been abolished but rich peasants, who cultivate, are left untouched. Till now tenants gave away the major part of the production as the landlord's share. This has been stopped, so the cultivator enjoys the full benefit of his labour. Land tax comes to about 13 % of the produce and is collected in kind. This is one of the major steps taken in China to deal with inflation. Government pays its administrators, military personnel and teachers in kind. There is no terrorism excepting in the case of landlords who attempt a violent revolt.

The lands of such have been confiscated. But to those who wish to till the soil, the same rehabilitation measures given to other farmers, are extended. Formerly there were shortages of all kinds of prime necessities. The reason for this shortage of prime necessities was the fact that the land was in the hands of absentee landlords who demanded 75 % to 80 % of the produce from their tenants. So the tenants had to live on 25 to 20 % of the produce and with any bye-product that they managed to get from the land. Naturally, there was no incentive for them to produce more when the bulk of the produce went to the landlord. Now that the land has been made over to the tenants, they produce what they like and improve their land. Consequently the production has gone up.

Within a short period the Chinese have been able, with ruthless determination, to eradicate blackmarketing and corruption left behind as a legacy by the Chiang Kai-shek regime.

System of Remuneration :

Most administrators and officers in New China are paid in kind. There are two ways of paying remuneration to officers. One is on a salary consideration and the other is on a supply basis. They do not pay remuneration purely in terms of money. The amount is fixed as so many *pailies* of wheat or *catties* of rice. When paid in money, the salary, therefore, varies according to the prevailing price of wheat or rice. If the price goes down the salary also will go down and if the price increases the salary will also go up.

As it happened there were two Cabinet Ministers with me when I was travelling. One was on supply basis and the other on salary. I asked the Minister who was on supply basis, " Why are you on supply

basis ?" He replied, "I have too many children to live on a salary."! When one is on supply basis, all the children are taken care of by the Government—education, clothing, medical attendance etc. The man, who is on supply basis, is looked after very much like the prisoners are in jail. Every month he will get so many *pailies* of wheat, so many pieces of washing soap, toilet soap, 20 packets of cigarettes etc., and two sets of clothes in the year.

Chairman Mao himself gets only the equivalent of 2,800 *catties* of millets, a house and the use of a car. (A catty is 1.3 lbs). At the most it may work out to about Rs. 600/- per month. I was talking to two Cabinet Ministers who were each getting the equivalent of about Rs. 450/- per month. The volunteers, who looked after us, got about one-third of that. Now we can see how China has leaders who share the life of the people. The spirit that pervades there is like that we had in India in 1931.

Inflation :

The Government takes by way of taxes 13 % in kind from the farmers, as already stated. With this produce they are able to control inflation. When the price goes up for the produce in the market the people buy from the Government stock causing the price in the market to come down. When the price is low the people buy from the market and so naturally the price goes up. In this way the Government regulates inflation.

Education :

Previously education was a luxury open only to the rich. In New China it has been made a necessity available to every citizen. Formerly the schools and colleges

were run on endowments, fees, etc. But now Government assumes the whole responsibility for education of the young. They are attempting to relate education with life. The Army itself is looked upon as a service corps. Soldiers off duty help peasants in their work.

Justice :

We visited a People's Court, where cases were tried with quick despatch. In these courts there are no lawyers. The present being a transitory period, even the judges were only men of six months' to a year's training. All the old laws had been set aside and only common sense prevailed. There was a Judge, an Assistant Judge, and a man and a woman acting as Assessors. This formed the Court. The Judge examined witnesses directly and the Government provided a defender to the accused in complicated cases to help the court. Representatives of the public were allowed to be present and to express their opinions.

In the case we saw an ill-treated wife had committed suicide. The mother-in-law got fifteen years, the brother-in-law ten years and the father-in-law two years on probation. While some representative of the public said that judgment and punishment were good, one woman got up and said that in her opinion the sentences were lenient ; as the suicide was the direct result of cruelty by others it was almost like murder. She thought the mother-in-law should have been awarded the capital sentence ! Such is Chinese Democracy today.

These and other reforms and works of national reconstruction were carried out in the amazingly short period of about two years. It is all the more wonderful when we remember the state China was in before " liberation ". It was a highly exploited nation, on the verge of starvation, oppressed by wars—internal and external.

The Chinese are a loveable people. The toddlers on the streets, the moment they recognise you as a foreigner, get hold of their mothers' pyjamas, and greet you with a sweet smile; and little older ones clap their hands in joy. At Canton, little boys had been lined up at the station to say farewell to us with flowers. I bent down to pat one on his cheeks. Immediately he put his arms round my neck and clung on to me. This was a signal for all the other little ones to do the same and they all started climbing over me until Pandit Sunderlal shouted, "Be careful, he is a blood-pressure patient; you will kill him with your affection." Then some of the senior volunteers came to my rescue. Such was the unbounded affection of young China.

Russia is a whole continent in extent with a small population; so they were driven to industrialisation at the very outset, while China has a dense population—nearly 2½ times that of Russia—hence wisely they have started with Land Reform. Should we, in India, also not follow the example of China as there is much in common between our countries?

Sarvodaya and Soviet Economics:

The references to my impressions of Russia and China by some of my trusted friends make it clear that they have not understood my attitude towards the economy of these countries.

While analysing economic groups according to the way they satisfy their needs, I had stated in my books "Why the Village Movement?" "Economy of Permanence" etc., that they may be classified into five main categories in order of selfishness and violence involved. (1) Parasitic, (2) Predatory, (3) Enterprising, (4) Gregarious and (5) Service, and cited Capitalism

and Imperialism supported by the Army, Navy and Air Forces, as instances of the first two. Trade, Commerce and Agriculture as instances of the third, Socialism as an example of the fourth, and Gandhism as the highest order based on service. This was twenty years ago and these books carry forewords from Gandhiji. My recent visit to China and Russia has only confirmed me in these ideas. Even if the Russian economy may be termed State Capitalism, where the State is supposed to wither away, yet in so far as the State's one care is the welfare of the common man, it is far in advance of Imperialisms, and nearer to Gandhian Ideology.

I have repeatedly stated that neither the Russian nor the Chinese economies will suit India and neither of them can ever develop into true Communism as long as the State is allowed to strengthen itself as it is being done to-day.

As long as these countries depend on centralised industries to supply their consumer goods, violence will be indispensable as also the maintenance of an 'Iron Curtain'. It is only under decentralised economy that we can develop an universal brotherhood working on non-violence. Hence world peace can never be ushered in by armaments.

There can be no leadership without self-discipline generated from a philosophy and way of life that takes into consideration all the factors that have a bearing. This is only possible when we reach down to basic principles of life and living. May we hope that the warring nations of the world will realise this and not seek their solution in competitively more destructive weapons? What shall it profit a nation if it gains the whole world and loses its own soul? Who shall be the leader, but the one who serves?

APPENDIX—ITINERARIES

CHINA GOODWILL MISSION

(22 September—October 31, 1951)

1951				
Sept.	17.	D. Wardha.		
	18.	A. Delhi.		
	19.	Chinese Embassy Party.		
	20.	Delhi to Calcutta—I. N. Plane.	A. 11.15 a.m.	
		Grand Hotel, Chowringhee.		
	21.	B.O.A.C.—Dept.	3 p.m.	
		A. Rangoon—	7.30 p.m.	Strand Hotel.
	22.	D. Rangoon—	7.15 a.m.	
		A. Bangkok—	9.15 a.m.	
		D. „ —	11.00 a.m.	
		A. Hongkong	6.00 p.m.	Sunning House Hotel.
	23.	By Steamer for Canton D.	6.00 p.m.	
	26.	Departure by Plane for Peking	8.00 a.m.	
		Arrival Peking	5.00 p.m.	Peking Hotel.
Oct.	9.	The Great Wall.		
	10.	D. For Mukden	22.	
	11.	A. „	17.	
	14.	D. For Tientsing	9 p.m.	
	15.	A. „	1.30 p.m.	
	17.	D. From Tientsing	11.30 p.m.	
	19.	A. Nanking	8 a.m.	
		D. „	7.45 a.m.	
		A. Shanghai	2.30 p.m.	—King Kiang Hotel.

	25.	D.	Shanghai	2.55	
		A.	Hanchow	7.30 p.m.	Guest House.
	27.	D.	Hanchow	7 a.m.	
	29.	A.	Canton	12.30	Victory Hotel.
	30.	D.	For Hongkong	7 a.m.	
		A.	Hongkong	2.45 p.m.	Kowloon Hotel.
Nov.	1.	D.	For Tokyo	7.00 a.m.	

Price List of Books
of
Sri. J. C. Kumarappa

The language or languages in which the books are available are written against them—(E) for English, (H) for Hindi, (T) for Tamil. It is requested that the language in which they are required be stated when ordering. Address, Post-Office, Dist., and Railway Station should be stated clearly. Annas six should be sent extra, if the books are required per Registered Post. † (Dagger) denotes books that are not our publications.

I. PRINCIPLES

1. **Why the Village Movement?** (5th Edition) pp. 198.

	Price	Postage
(E) (H) (T)	3 8 0	0 4 0

Gandhiji says:

"J. C. Kumarappa answers almost all the doubts that have been expressed about the necessity and feasibility of the movement. No lover of villages can afford to be without the booklet. No doubter can fail to have his doubts dispelled. I wonder if the 'Village Movement' has come just in time to prevent the spread of the movement of despair. This booklet is an attempt to answer the question."

2. **Economy of Permanence**

		Price	Postage
Part I	(E) (H)	2 0 0	0 4 0
	(T)	2 8 0	0 4 0
Part II	(E) (H)	2 0 0	0 4 0

Gandhiji says:

"Like his brochure on the "Practice and Precepts of Jesus" Dr. Kumarappa's "The Economy of Permanence" is a jail production. It is not as easy to understand as the first. It needs careful reading twice or thrice if it is to be

fully appreciated. When I took up the manuscript I was curious to know what it could contain. The opening chapter satisfied my curiosity and led me on to the end without fatigue and yet with profit."

3. **Sarvodaya** (in Press)

4. **Philosophy of Work and other Essays** (E) (H) 0 12 0 0 2 0
† (T) 1 4 0 0 2 0

II. STUDIES

5. **An Overall Plan for Rural Development** (E) (H) 1 8 0 0 2 0
(T) 0 8 0 0 2 0

6. † **Public Finance and our Poverty** (3rd Edition) (With a foreword by Gandhiji) (E) 1 8 0 0 2 0
(H) 2 8 0 0 4 0

Gandhiji says :

"The reader should carefully study these chapters which contain facts rather than arguments."

"I recommend the booklet both to the Indian as also to the Western readers."

The " Hindu" says :

"The outspokenness of the analysis of the Indian problem is reinforced by revealing statistics in the book. The book deserves to be read by every student of Indian Economics."

7. † **Clive to Keynes** (E) 0 12 0 0 1 0
(H) 0 8 0 0 1 0
(T) 1 8 0 0 2 0

(A survey of the history of our Public Debts and Sterling Securities.)

The " Hindustan Times" says :

"The brochure is packed with information which will have to be borne in mind when it comes to final reckoning with Britain."

8. **The Unitary Basis for a Non-Violent Democracy**	(E)	0 10 0	0 2 0

(*Describes how villages can prepare themselves to bear the responsibility in a democracy.*)

9. **Organisation and Accounts of Relief Work**	(E)	1 0 0	0 2 0

Dr. Rajendra Prasad says :

" This pamphlet summarises and collects and collates our experience and method of work (in Bihar Earthquake Relief) and J. C. Kumarappa has done a public service in bringing together the points which may appear obvious now but which were not so obvious when we started, and which needed much thought to make them clear. I hope it will prove helpful, not only to new organizations engaged in similar work, but also to students and would-be organizers and social workers."

10. † **Practice and Precepts of Jesus**	(E)	1 8 0	0 2 0
	(H)	1 0 0	0 2 0
	(T)	1 8 0	0 2 0

Gandhiji says :

" Having carefully gone through these chapters, I can recommend their perusal to every believer in God, be he a Christian or a follower of any other religion........ It is a revolutionary view of Jesus as a man of God.........If all believe as Prof. Kumarappa does, there will be no religious feuds and rivalries between sects and different religions."

The Missionary Journal " Dnyanodaya " says :

" We trust our readers will not fail to pray that the spirit of Christ, who led Prof. Kumarappa to write it, will bless its many readers......to read it is a searching spiritual exercise......the shining sincerity reflected on every page of this book makes it a benediction to read."

11. † **Christianity—Its Economy and Way of Life**	(E)	1 8 0	0 2 0
	(T)	0 12 0	0 2 0

(This is a critical examination of the Economic order of the West in the light of the principles enunciated by Jesus.)

III. ESSAYS

12. † **Planning for the People by the People**	(E)	3 0 0	0 4 0

The Organiser says:

"Dr. Kumarappa's analysis of Government economic policies is refreshingly frank and so extremely useful...... All in all it is a very thought-provoking book......one which every student of public affairs should read."

13. **Science and Progress** (2nd Edition)	(E)	1 0 0	0 2 0
	(T)	(In Press)	
14. **Peace and Prosperity** (2nd Edition)	(E)	1 0 0	0 2 0
15. **Blood Money**	(E) (H)	0 12 0	0 2 0
16. † **Swaraj for the Masses**	(E)	1 12 0	0 2 0

The "Bharat Jyoti" says:

"The book deserves keen study on the part of our legislators, economists and students of current trends in socio-economic affairs."

17. **Women and Village Industries.**	(E) (H)	0 4 0	0 1 0
18. **Present Economic Situation**	(E) (H)	2 0 0	0 4 0
19. **Our Food Problem**	(H) (E)	1 8 0	0 2 0

The "Hindustan Standard" says:

"Between these two books Sri J. C. Kumarappa discusses most of the burning problems of the day from the standpoint of Gandhian philosophy. Gandhian philosophy, as is well-known, is common-sense philosophy of practical life. As such Sri Kumarappa's discussion of the current problems in the light of that philosophy carries

with it the stamp of practicableness. Every well-wisher of our national economy should go through these books."

20. **Banishing War**	(E)	0 8 0	0 2 0
21. **Currency Inflation—Its Cause and Cure**	(E) (H)	0 12 0	0 2 0

IV. SURVEYS ETC.

22. † **C. P. Government Industrial Survey Committee Report** (under the Chairmanship of Sri J. C. Kumarappa)

Gandhiji writes :

"Chapter 2, dealing with General considerations, stamps the report as an original document and shows that it is not to be pigeon-holed as most such reports are, but should be given effect without delay."

"The Committee has made practical suggestion on all the industries. The curious must procure the report and study it."

Part I. Vol. I, pp. 50 General recommendation to Government based on a survey of 606 villages.	(E)	0 8 0	0 4 0
Part I. Vol. 2 pp. 132 Two selected District Survey Reports and Notes on 24 Village Industries.	(E)	1 0 0	0 4 0
Part II. Vol. I pp. 40 Recommendations in regard to Forest, Mineral and Power Resources.	(E)	0 8 0	0 4 0
Part II. Vol. 2 pp. 109. Selected portions of reports of Forests, Mineral and Power Resources, and on Transport, Taxation and Marketing.	(E)	0 12 0	0 4 0

23. † **A Plan for the Economic Development of the N.W.F. Province, pp. 36**	(E)	0 13 0	0 4 0

Sir Mirza Ismail writes :

"I should like to compliment you on the very lucid manner in which you have dealt with the various questions relating to the industrial development of the Province. You have approached the whole problem in a direct, matter-of-fact and eminently practical way."

24. † **Survey of Matar Taluka**	(E)	4 0 0	0 4 0

Sri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar writes :

"The report is presented to the public as an authoritative document on the economic condition of a typical taluka of Gujarat. The reader will find that the statistics, presented here in careful schedules, are even more eloquent than the main body of the carefully-worded and lucid report itself. It is a vivid picture of the slow process of exploitation, emasculation and perhaps decimating of a patient and peaceful population."

25. † **Report on the Financial Obligations between Great Britain and India,** with Sri J. C. Kumarappa as Convener. (A Survey of the Public Debt)		1 0 0	0 3 0
26. † **Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee** (under the Chairmanship of Sri J. C. Kumarappa)	(E)	5 0 0	0 8 0
27. **A Questionnaire for Rural Survey**	(E) (H)	0 4 0	0 1 0
28. **Questionnaire for the Survey of Village Industries**	(E)	1 8 0	0 2 0
	(H)	1 12 0	0 3 0

V. TRAVELS

No.	Title		Price	Postage
29.	**People's China: What I Saw and learnt There**	(E)	0 12 0	0 4 0
30.	**† Report on Japan's Cottage Industries etc.**	(E)	1 4 0	0 2 0
31.	**Europe—Through Gandhian Eyes**	(E)	0 8 0	0 2 0
		(T)	0 8 0	
		(H)	0 12 0	0 2 0
32.	**A Peep behind the Iron Curtain**		1 8 0	0 2 0
33.	**Lessons from Europe**	(E)	0 8 0	0 2 0

VI. GANDHIAN ECONOMICS

No.	Title		Price	Postage
34.	**Gandhian Economic Thought**	(E)	1 4 0	0 2 0
		(H)	1 0 0	0 2 0
		(T)	1 4 0	0 2 0

The "*Khadi World*" says:

" This valuable book is a lucid and authoritative exposition of the basis of Gandhian or Sarvodaya Economics and it is an indispensable companion to everyone interested in the creation of a new economic order of society of Gandhiji's conception."

No.	Title		Price	Postage
35.	**The Gandhian Way of Life**	(E)	0 12 0	0 2 0

(*These two are based on the extension lectures delivered at Benares, Calcutta and Agra Universities.*)

No.	Title		Price	Postage
36.	**Gandhian Economy and other Essays (2nd edition)**	(E)	2 0 0	0 4 0
		(T)	0 12 0	0 2 0
37.	**Sarvodaya and World Peace**	(E)	0 2 0	0 1 0
38.	**Non-violence & World Peace**	(E)	1 0 0	0 2 0
39.	**Cow in our Economy**		(In Press)	
40.	**Sarvodaya Order**		(In Press)	

VII. PERIODICALS

41. **Gram Udyog Patrika**
Edited by Sri J. C. Kumarappa,
A monthly Journal of Sarvodaya Economic Order

Gandhiji writes in the "Harijan":

"'Gram Udyog Patrika' contains solid reading matter for those who are interested in the revival of village industries."

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1942, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47-48	0	5	0	0	1	0

VIII. BIOGRAPHICAL

42. **J. C. Kumarappa and his Quest for World Peace** (In Press)
by M. Vinaik

43. **J. C. Kumarappa** *in Tamil*
by M. Vinaik 1 4 0 0 2 0

44. **The Economics of Peace : The Cause and the Man** (E) 10 0 0 Post free

(Edited by S. K. George and G. Ramachandran.)

(At the root of all conflicts and wars will invariably be found some form or other of exploitation somewhere in the world. It is this teaching of Sri Kumarappa which we made

it our object to elucidate in this Volume through the contributions of the writers whom we canvassed.—*Editors.*)

The "Hindustan Times," New Delhi, says:

"The treatise throws a floodlight on the theory and practice of Gandhian Economics and discusses the various programmes launched for the uplift of the masses with a decentralized village economy as the focal point of the whole movement."

45. **Stone Walls and Iron Bars** (E) (H) 0 8 0 0 1 0

(*Gives an account of* over seven *years of the jail experiences of the writer and his suggestions of reform.*)

The above books can be had from *Gandhiniketan,*
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